John Mason

THE CHARACTER OF THE TRUE PUBLICK SPIRIT

ESPECIALLY

With relation to the ill condition of a Nation, thro' the Prevalency of the

PRIVAT SPIRIT, Selfish and Sinister DESIGNS.

IN TWO ESSAYS.

Most humbly offered to the due consideration of those who may be concerned, and chiefly if a People comes to be in danger originally, by any supervenient and disagreeable alteration in their Circumstances and Constitution.

Intended as a preliminary to some further thoughts concerning the Subject and Case.

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Omnibus qui patriam Conservaverint, Adjuvaverint, auxerint, Certus est in Cœlo & definitus locus, ubi sempiterno gaudio fruantur beati.

Cicero in Som: Scip

-------- Hæc duri immota Catonis
Secta fuit, servare modum finemq; tenere,
Naturamq; sequi, patriæq; impendere vitam:
Nec sibi, sed toti genitum se credere mundo.
-------- Urbi pater est, Urbiq; maritus,
Justitiæ cultor, rigidi servator honesti,
In commune bonus: nullosq; Catonis in actus
Subrepsit, partemq; tulit sibi nata voluptas.

Lucan. Pharsal. lib II.

ERRATA.

PREFACE

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THE PREFACE.

PREFACES being customary, are upon that account convenient; but in some Cases also necessary. He that really and sincerely designs to emit any thing for the *Publick* Good, must not only be careful of the *matter*, but also circumspect about the *manner*; and as well look to the Prudence of his *Conduct*, as to the Sincerity of his *Intention*; and omit no *Circumstance* nor *Ceremony* capable to conciliat *Favour*, to gain or *Proselyte* the Readers: especially if he *aim* at *Perswasives*, that may any way *thwart* old Custom and ingrain'd privat *Humour* and *Interest*, which pretend to *Right* and *Title* by a

long and uninterrupted *Possession* & *Prescription* in some times and Places.

Tho' it seems to be the weaker sort of Readers, who are *scandalized* at a Writing, from the consideration of the *Author*, his *Intention*, or the *By Respects* he appears to have in the Publication, and who consider not the weight of the *Reasons*, but the Authority of the *Speaker*; or who study to ward off the *Dint* of Reasoning, with *Wrangling* and *Retortion*.

Yet this must be understood of common and indifferent *Subjects*; for when the *Theme* is any thing removed from the ordinary road of Writing, & it may be also of *Thinking*, and several bold *Steps* and Advances made, with a surprising *Prospect* of the universal *Concern*, and importance of a matter given, and a new and allarming *Scene* of *Guilt* is opened, where many may think themselves *arraigned*, and not a few *condemned*; and if all this come from one who is of no Established *Authority* or *Reputation*, nor licentiat to use such *Liberty*, as it may be hard to

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ward off the *By-Blows* of Prejudice and Misconstruction; so what wonder if these who find themselves unexpectedly *nettled*, endeavour to *tease* the *Author*, and turn the Canon on him, and makes his Efforts recoyl upon himself, by calling his *Attempt* but a more refined, dexterous and well-couched *Self-seeking*, and a true following the *Scent*, in the *Chase* of *Applause* and *Esteem*, tho' he most eagerly combats against them.

But in the mean time it may be enquired, whether the *Attaques* against the *Grand*, *Common* and *Publick* Enemy, *Self*, can have any more of *Self* therein, than there is in the *Achievements* of *War*, or *Feats* of *Arms*, against the publick Enemies; and whether the *Greatness*, *Bravery* and *Profite* of the Actions of War, doth not attone for the Allay of *Self* that may be at the bottom thereof; and whether the World be not so favourable and indulgent, as to look upon the *Splendor* and *Benefie* of the Action, without taking heed of the dark side thereof.

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And it would alſo be enquired, whether it is more eligible for a Nation to be ſubdued by a wiſe *Enemy*, than to have the Fate to be ſunk and ſwallowed up in *privat* and *ſelfiſh* Deſigns, tho' with *Liberty* and *Independence* in relation to their Neighbours, which may be conſiſtent with the greateſt & worſt of *Slaveries* within and among themſelves; and whether or not, he that ſhall endeavour the reſcuing of a People in this Caſe, merits not as much *Favour*, as theſe who fight their Battels, againſt inteſtine and forregn Enemies.

Mens *Actions* and *Practices*, which have been long proſperous, in moving irregularly and extravagantly, not only without *Reſpect* and *Relation* to the *Publick Good*, but to the direct intrenchment thereon, are with no leſs *Difficulty* reduced and fixed to their due *Stations* and *Motions*, than proſperous and ſucceſsful *Rebellion* can be made ſubordinat to Lawful and Orderly *Government*. And men are as unwilling to ſubject their *Minds* to the *Reaſonings* of others, and as *averſe* to be ſubdued to

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Opinions, that their *Practice* and *Actions* ſhow they are not curious to be acquainted with, as they are to ſubmit their *Bodies* to Orderly Government, who were uſed to *Roving*, and Libertine *Excurſions* and *Depredations*.

And as the *Arms* to be uſed againſt the *Enemies* here, are the Dints of ſolid *Reaſon*; ſo the *Arms* the *Adverſary* is only capable of, are *Wrangling*, and all the *Subterfuges* of *Chicance*, the *Extravagances* of *Retortion*; and theſe *actuated* and *ſtimulated* by *Prejudice*, *Humour* and *Privat Intereſt*, which uſes to be mighty and *dexterous* in the management of theſe *Weapons*.

So it's hoped that, all honeſt and ingenuous Men, will be ſo far from joyning with the Enemies, by raiſing any *Powder* to defeat the Efficay of this *Deſign*, that they will rather think themſelves obliged to joyn their whole *Force* therewith, as well as againſt a forreign *Enemy* invading their own *Land*, or a horrid *Rebellion* in the Bowels thereof; for it's not only in Proportion to a Mans *Power*, *Riches*, &c. but in Proportion

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to the Strength of *Reason* and of *Honesty*, that he can be assistant & helpeful here: Tho' every one pretends to these *Talents*, yet their Pretensions are in vain, who do not without *tergiversing* or *hovering*, vigorously and zealously show the Effects of them in this Case.

The words of the wise, saith Wisedom it self, *are as goads and nails fastned by the master of assemblies: Goads* to prompt, and *Nails* to fasten men in the ways of *Virtue*: whereas Foolish words, like *Clogs*, fetter Mens *Minds* that they cannot raise them to any thing thats high, or like the *wind* drives them to and fro, into *Errors* and *mistakes*, that they can never fix or settle upon right and Truth: and indeed the *dexterous strooks* of the *hamer*, shall never be able to forge the Mettle better, than the dextrous hits of *words*, does the *mind* that is maleable, and not alltogether hardned, obstinat and ingrained in *Error* and *Vice*.

Its words that have brought about the greatest actions that have been done in the *World*, that have fought the great

eſt *battles*, wrought the greateſt *Revolutions*, and made the greateſt *conqueſts*: theſe makeing conqueſt of mens minds, ſets them as tools on work for the greateſt deſign.

And in regard mens minds ſeem leſs maleablle now than of old, when *harangues* did it, and that they are now become *word-proof* and *harangue-proof*, providentialy then ſeemed the invention of *Printing*, whereby words came to give both a more univerſall and more durable dint, & *Impreſſion* on the minds of men.

And tho' fit Words be like *light* to the *mind*, to direct it in all its ſteps, difficulties, and windings; If Men will not be at the pains to make due uſe of them, or bring them home into their *minds*, and by ſerious *meditation* apply them, but like ſtingy *patients*, after the firſt uſe, finding no effects, leave them off, without makeing uſe of them till they work a change, or if they uſe them, only to tickle the *palat* of *Curioſity*, which can never be ſatisfied, but ſtill hunts, and ſhifts for variety, nor

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is able to dwell so long upon any thing, till they reap the benefit of it, they will never cure their *errors*, nor *enlighten* the mind; Its *truth* that nourishes the *mind*; Important and practicall *truth* brings it to a *vigorous* and *Atheltiq*; *habit*, makeing it capable to attempt, and accomplish great things, and nothing can nourish, that is not taken in, retained and perfectly degested, in the *mind* as well as in the *body*.

It must be either a trifling *reader*, or a trivial Subject, which makes a thing to be read but once, and thereafter thrown by, as useless: where good *Subjects*, and intelligent *Readers* meet, they will Read and Read again: Yea *decies repetita placebit*, the oftener, they like it the better, and never think they have done sufficiently, till they have Read themselves into *conviction*, and *practise*; If a man feels himself in a dangerous bodily *Disease*, and meets with any *Book* that treats clearly of it, he will Read and think and Read; much more ought every ingenious *member* of a *society* do so, when he apprehends common *danger*;

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not that the *Author* means that his attempt merits such *application*, but surely the favourable reception of his *aims*, may animat others to emit some thing that may deserve it.

The clear knowledge of *Right* and *wrong*, doth tye men with invincible and undissoluble *Bonds*, to the prosecution of the one, and to the fleeing of the other; its but a smatering in *knowledge*, leads men into *errors*, and *errors* in *Judgement* breed *Vices* in *Practice*, and the tergiversing, and mistakes in *duties*; true *knowledge* in the Head, will sink down into the *Heart*, and preside at the *Rudder* of the *Actions*, And both lay the boisterous *blasts* of stormy *passions*, and check the *Eidy Plans* of *privat*, and *byased Interest*, and change the *Gale* to fair and prosperous; warm *perswasives* closely laid home, and applyed, as the heat of the *fire* does with crooked *Timber*, make the crooked *Mind* to ply, and give it the right *Stance*.

Whensoever then a *Nation* fals into the *Circumstances*, and Case, wholly favouring and fomenting the Current and

Predominancy of *privat* and *sinister* Designs; then, as that Nation seems to be in as great *Danger*, as when a *publick* Enemy invades them: Does it not then, and in that Case, concern all good men and Honest *Country-men*, in every such place, to join their whole *Force* in opposition thereto? and some, one way, and some another, to promote the *Study* & Exercise of a *Publick Spirit*, and that in so far as they are, or may be *capable* to do? And if these *Essays* chance to come seasonably, or be so happy as to do the small Office of *Clearing the Ground*, & *removing the Rubbish of Mistake, Prejudice and Caprice*, for the True *Publick Spirit*'s erecting the stately *Fabrick* of *Improvement*, *Melioration*, or *Reformation* in a Nation; then may they be taken in good part: and whensoever the *Readers*, shall be pleased so seriously to think, and consider upon them, till they have warmed themselves into a *kindness*, and *Cordial Respect*, for that Noble and Useful Temper of a True *Publick Spirit*, and the wonderful and charming *Effects* thereof in a Nation,

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both in the *Preservation* and *Recovery* thereof, then may they be convinced that the most blessed *Turn*, its able, with the *Divine Assistance* to produce, in the most dangerous and desperat *State* of a *Nation*, is not far off.

If any shall object, That such *Thoughts*, *Considerations* and *Cares*, belong not to privat persons, nor to those of the *Lower Degree*, they concern only the *Governours*, *Supream* or *Subordinat*, the *Statesmen*, and such as sit at the *Helm*; and therefore any medling by others that way, may be look'd on as too officious, ano an offensive ingireing into their *proper Province*.

To this it may be answered, That a *Nation* may be in the Case, That the *Supream Ruler* cannot, and the *Subordinat* care not, to rectifie Grieving *Abuses*, or to prosecute the due *Improvements* of a *Nation*: as when the *Supream*, by the *Multitude* and *Weight* of his necessary *Avocations*, and of his other Relative *Concerns*, is diverted from the necessary *Inspection* into matters, & the due *Regulation* of things. And the

Subordinat neglect it, either by their being taken up with other *Designs*, with Projects of *Emulation* or *Topping*, or by their making a handle of *Circumstances* and *Disorders*, by their conniving at, or Protecting *Irregularities*, or *Abuses*, as they find they make for their *Game*, or at least when *Abuses* and *Disorders* are grown too strong, or too *riveted* for them alone, to project, Methodise or prosecute an effectual *Reformation*, and a due, and orderly *rectification*, without an universall *concurrence*, and more *generall*, and *nationall efforts*.

There may also be another *Case*, & *Circumstance* in a *Nation*, which may exercise some, retarde, and scandalize others, as to their *Concernment*, and *concurrence*, in such *matters*, and that is, when they apprehend the *Government* of a *nation* to be wrong headed, and under usurpation, and therefore will have no meddling therein, or incline to do any thing that may inforce their active *obedience* to that *Government*, or their complyance therewith.

Tho' this scruple has oftimes at the bottome

bottome, the *fears*, or *hopes* of a *Revolution*, or of a new turn, more than a reall affection or a true *Conscience* of duty, to particular *Persons*, or Families, yet waveing that, such persons are desired to consider, that in whosoevers *hands* the *Government* be, the *Reformation* of a *Nation*, being the bettering of the contraverted *subject*, cannot be unacceptable to the right *owners*, and true *Fathers* of the *Country*, and the more flourishing it is, the greater will be their hopes, and their *endeavours* the more vigourous, for recovery, and when ever they *return* thereto, it will be with the more joy, and splendour, if they can invert the *Sentence* of the *Roman Emperour*, by saying, *Lateritiam reliqui, marmoream inveni*, I left it a *Cottage*, and have found a *Stately City*.

If there be any that are not satisfied with the *motives* and *arguments*, taken from the imminency of publick *danger*, in that *Nation*, where a *publick spirit*, being mostly requisit and *desiderated*, is yet wanting, he may be pleased to consider

ſider, tho' he be well enough ſeen in other things, it may be he is not learned in this *politick prognoſtick*, and in ſuch a *ſtate prediction*; and as there may really be *danger*, tho he perceive it not, ſo he is deſired to be favourable, and to let that paſs for the *Authors* exceſs of *tenderneſs*, and *Affection* to *publick concerns*, which perhaps ſwells his *Jealouſes* beyond meaſure, if he reliſh his ends, he may pardon his miſtakes in his *topick*, *medium*, and *arguments*, ſince he ſeems to have erred in the ſafeſt ſide; it being infinitely better, in the caſe of the *publick concern*, to give a too warm *allarm*, than to ſooth over a real *danger*, and to make far greater *ſtreaches* than that, to accompliſh ſo *great* and *beneficiall* an *end*: As *Cæſar* deſired to have his *Wife* not only free from *guilt*, but from all *taſh* and *ſuſpition* thereof; ſo remember that every good *Country-man*, would not only have his Country free from *danger*, but from all *hazard*, and ſuſpition thereof.

As there was never any *writing* that pleaſed all men, much more that may

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prove *nauseus*, which comes like *Physick*, to cure men of their *Diseases*, and *Distempers* of *mind*. And if any be offended at the *frankness* and *forwardness* used here, tho' it seem beyond measure, to these; who have not pored so much on the subject, nor so warmed themselves with *Consideration*, and *Reflection*, on this matter, as the *Author*, yet he merits some *favour*, and indulgence; as being thereto constrained, by the *Conflagration* raised in him, which was no longer to be kept in, but out it must. And as these *Speculations* were conceaved, so they are produced, without an evil designe upon any man; And tho' *Amicus Socrates*, *amicus Plato*, yet *Magis amica veritas*, *magis amica Patria*, to all good men; who ever then, either in *vision*, or in action, rightly espouses the *Publick Interest*, in some Circumstances especialy, must of necessity, take up the *Cudgels* against all the *Privateers*, *Robbers* and *Rapparies* of the *Publick*, of whatever *Rank*, and *Condition* they be, yea even he most lend a *blow* to the *Trimmers*, *Laodiceans*, these indifferent,

ferent *neuters*, and *Luke-warms*, who are neither hot nor cold in the *Publick* concerns, these *Gallio*'s, who care for none of these things, whatway they go: No wonder then, to see their *Passions* raised, and to see the beast run away with the *man*, and that they winch, and fling, who are any way touched in the quick sore, and have their *masks* taken off, or their *naughtiness* and *nakedness* discovered, to the hazzard of spoiling their *Trade*: And withall its no wonder to see these, who have distempered, vitiated or ulcerated *Pallats*, that they can relish nothing that's wholsome, and sound; to *nauseat* these things, yea some can scarse take in a mouthful of *good sense*, and *reason*, but they must presently throw it out again, mingled with the *excrements* and filth, flowing from the diseased parts, and that either in an *insipid*, *flat* and *quibbling jeast*, which makes only themselves to Laugh, or others no deeper drawn than themselves; or in a bitter and malicious *Scoff*, which tho' it claw their own, or the galled *back* of others, which

which like ſcall'd Horſe, need always ſomething to rub on; yet it appears naſty, and noyſome, and to all theſe who are not ſick of the *Itch*, *Scab* or *Leproſy* and Scal'd over like themſelves.

And its to be feared that ſuch men, who will not be bound with any *reaſon*, but who, *Sampſon* like, burſt aſunder, and caſt away all the Cords of true and ſolid *Senſe*, and throw away all the bonds of equity, Reaſon and Juſtice, about this important *matter*, that their Lot may be with the unprofitable *Servant*, to be bound with the everlaſting *Bonds*, hand, and foot, and to be caſt, the *Sacred Oracles* tells us whither; and where they may come, to lye under the weight Torture, and preſſure of all theſe *Evils*, *National Calamities* and *Miſeries*, And all the direful conſequences thereof, that they have in this *life*, been ſo little ſolicitous about, the Amendement or redreſs of.

If there be any of the minor *Criticks*, theſe *Superficialiſts*, who would carp at the *Language*, or *Stile*, becauſe they find not that ſmoothneſs, they have been

used to, they may be pleased to know, that the *matter* handled, being knottie, and the *Subject*, none of the most pliant, and yielding; the *strooks* must not be so melting, and soft, nor the *Strain* so mild or *Courtly*, but rather strong, or masculine, smart & bold. Tho' in some cases, *Reason* comes best like a beautiful and well deckt *Lady*, with amorous *Charms* and *Glances* to allure; yet in other Cases, it comes more properly like a *Champion* armed *Cap à pie*, to rouze, and allarm, or to Subdue and Conquer.

And these, being but Essays, they cannot be expected to have that *method*, *Proportion* and *perfection*, that belongs to compleat *master pieces*, they may then contain many imperfections, things that the more Judicious will think deserve amendement, and Correction; The Author is therefore content in so far to submit, and pass from them, but withall he hopes his *Errors* will be found to be on the safest side; it being infinitly better (as has been already mentioned) in the Case of publick *Concerns* of a *Nati-*

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on, to give too warm an *Alarm*, than to sooth over a reall and great danger. And what is here said, being but a *Preliminary* to what may, and ought to be be said, when a *Nation* is in the Circumstance and Case, that *Tampering*, and *Trifling*, will only exasperate the *Disease*, and when the corrupted *Sore* requires to be ript up, and searched to the bottom, and duely plyed with *Eradicating Remedies*; but which cannot in Prudence be attempted, untill the Patient be disposed and able to bear the true and compleat *Cure*: and which *Disposition* to beget, whensoever the same is requisit, is the main Errand of these *Essays*.

The Reader is most earnestly intreated not to misconstruct, but to take in good part the little digression that is made in vindication of true *Physick*, and honest *Physicians*; it being of no small consequence to the Publick to distinguish the *good* from the *bad*, especially when thro' debates, and those perhaps very necessary, among them, the Art and all the professors

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thereof, come to be most injuriously overwhelm'd with *contumely* & *reproach*; and which may be lookt on, as prejudicial to the *merit* of some, & *innocence* of others, yea & also to the *Publick Interest*.

But these who care not to be informed but desire to see only as they saw before, and never to have their Eys opened, in these *matters*, may be pleased to pass this over, and leave it to those who are more curious, how they place the trust of the *health* and *Life*, of *themselves* and *dearest Relations*.

ESSAY

ESSAY, I.

Concerning the True *PUBLICK SPIRIT*, the Nature and Excellencies thereof, *&c.*

MANY Men have their proper *Genius*, which not only renders them excellent Judges of, and notably qualified for, the greatest Perfection and finest Touches in some *Arts* and *Practises*, But also which affects them with singular Pleasures & Pains, peculiar to themselves; and to which others are wholy Strangers, Tho' as knowing and discerning in all other things as they themselves are: for these

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impressions, delectable or unpleasing, seem to belong to a particular sensation and manner of touch, both different from the five common Senses, and for which all have not their proper Organs: Thus some are exquisit Judges of, very expert in, and notably affected with *Musick*, and have their proper *charms* and *Raptures*, from the *Harmony* and concord they feel therein, As they are in danger of *qualms* and *Shiverings*, with *discord* and *Jargon:* Some are the same way touched with *Painting* and *Pictures*, and with the delicacy or coursenes they perceive in the design and Stroaks: To some *Poetry* gives peculiar delectation or *distast*, according to the *Finness* or *Rudeness*, the Elevation or Depression of the *Strain* they find in the *Lines*; Even so by a proper temper, innate disposition, and *Genius*, there is nothing more *afflicting* and *torturing* to all *Ingenious* and *Candid Souls*; these of a true *publick Spirit*, who have a due *gust* of things, not only as they relate to themselves, But as they concerne others

thers; these who have both a *right feeling*, and a real *fellow feeling*; yea and I may say to these great ones, whose Disquisitions & Designs move and exspatiat far beyond the *Little Sphere* of *Self*. To these as there is nothing more afflicting & torturing than when they find all sorts of *Abuses*, *Disorders* and *Miseries* to be *endemical*, common and *spreading* in a Nation, and of fatal and dismal Tendency, which makes to them the most abominable *Discord* and *Jargon*: So there is nothing more *delectable* to such, than upon the prospect of a retrival, to hammer out their Brains in suteable and effectual Remedies, which gives to them *melodious Harmony* & *Consort*: Because such men of all others being most affected, they are liklieſt to penetrat furtheſt into the true Causes, and to hit the *Cures* of the *Evils* and *Dangers* that threaten a Land, when the Inhabitants and their ways of Spending do increase, and their ways of honest getting do diminish: when *Vanity*, *Prodigality* and *Ryot* are fostered at the Expence of the *Growth*

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of the number of the *Poor*, and of the increase of their Miseries; when *Extortion*, *Oppression* and *Fraud* are left at *random*, to ravage, being under Covert and Mask of a Publick Good: and when Innocency & Ingenuity are made a Prey to *Subtility* and *Cunning*, and in all the *Steps* and *Turns* of Business, plain men meet with *Rubbs*, *Traps* and *Gins*, *Impositions* and *Over-reachings*: In a word, when *privat* and *sinister* Designs left to Freedom, run the *Career*, and *engrosse Power*, *Reputation* and *Substance* to support and promote their *Acquisitions*: and even when not only the Acts and Practice of the Publick Spirit are in desuetude, but the very *Idea* of it so obliterated and darkened, that the Notion thereof is like to be lost.

2. And it may be thought no more comfortable nor convenient living in such a Country, than to dwell in a place, where the High Ways are pestered with *Thieves* and *Rogues*, or full of *Pitts* and *Quagmires*, or overgrown with *Briars* and *Thorns*; where the Pas-

Paſſengers may be in hazard to be lightned of their *Purſes*, their *Cloaths*, or their *Blood*; tho' the better mounted & equipt may have a tolerable Paſſage, yet the ordinary Travellers may pay ſoundly for it: Even ſo tho' many of the higher Rank may eſcape theſe Inconveniencieis, *Rubbs*, and *Hazards* that attend others in ſuch a Country, and alſo be very inſenſible of them, yet the Effects that may come of theſe and ſuch like abuſes, *&c.* by a Natural or Supernatural Conſequence, may come to touch every one, however elevated they be, if they be not affected with an Active and Operative *Sympathy*; and the rather when ſuch *Diſorders*, *Abuſes* and Miſeries are accompanied with, or produce, *Diviſions*, *Animoſities*, *Immoralities* and *Impieties*; which by an ordinary or extraordinary way bring Judgments upon a *Land*, an overflowing *Scourge*, which may reach all without Exception; eſpecially if beſides theſe Evils *within*, the Circumſtances from *without*, and the State of Affairs *abroad*; do threaten to aſcertain and precipitat the Storm.

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3. The dangers and difficulties of a Nation, or the *Body politick*, are often like the diſeaſes of the *Body natural*, well known they may be ſaid to be half cured, But then it muſt be by the ſagacious and perſpicatious, who looking beyond the ſuperficies of things into their innermoſt receſſes, perceave *dangers* in the *Spring* and *Bud* and then they are eaſily Cureable, but when they appear evident and conſpicous to all, then like ſome Diſeaſes of the *Body natural*, frequently they are deſperat and incurable.

4. And as in the diſeaſes of the *Body natural* there may be great miſtakes, about their nature and true cure, which may occaſion the miſapplication and male-adminiſtration of Remedys, ſo whatſoever care or concern any man ſeems to have for his Countrey, without due *Circumſpection*, and *Sagacity* to take up the true ſtate and condition thereof, and to underſtand the real Cauſes of the evils under which it labours, & without due *Caution*, *prudence* and *skill* in the *application* and *admi-*

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niſtration of the *remedys:* in ſtead of helping, he may hurt; and in ſtead of curing, ruine and deſtroy, to the irreparable loſs of his Countrey, and to his own unſpeakeable ſhame, and diſgrace: Great therefore moſt be the *Care*, *Skill* and *dexterity* with which ſuch publick concerns deſerve to be managed, for the Ignorant, raſh and head-ſtrong *Pilot*, not-withſtanding of his intereſt in the *Botome* and *Cargo*, may runn the *Ship* a ground, and where this hes often fallen out in a Nation, a little more thereof may unhappily do their turn.

5. Tho' moſt men may be ſenſible when a Nation labours under great *difficulties*, and *diſtreſſes*; Yet there uſes to be little agreement about the firſt *cauſes*, or the true *procuring* and *fomenting* or *concurring cauſes* of the evils, ſome blaming one thing, & ſome another, and the moſt hitting as wide of the Mark, as they ſeem to differ among themſelves; and as I think the errors in this point a great cauſe of *confuſions*, *diſorders* and *abuſes* in a land, yet theſe are not the firſt cauſe, for in

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this, case these errors and *Hallucinations* of mens minds must certainly spring from a too great inconcernedness and indifferency about the *publick* concerns, and a want of a due measure of the true *publick* Spirit, this makes men lazie, supine and negligent in their application that way, for did some men apply themselves with the same *diligence*, *care* and *constancy*, to the consideration of the publick *Improvement* and *Reformation* of a Nation, that they do to their own particular concerns; and the establishment or aggrandising their Familys; there would quickly follow a joyfull turn in the state and condition of such a Nation, and so pleasant a *Metamorphosis* that whosoever hes but a glanse thereof, in *Idea* or Speculation, will be spurred up to do any thing that may even have the most remote Influence thereon, and he will spare no Labour, pains or cost to beget encourage and propagat the *publick Spirit*, which may be called the *Cardinal publick Virtue*, the spring and source of all *publick virtuous Actions* and *Designs*.

6.

6. And there is no place where *privat sinister design* has made considerable inroads, *incrochments* and havock upon *publick interest*; But there the greatest measure and strongest efforts of the *publick Spirit* seems *requisite* to retrive matters: for certaihly there must be some thing in the Circumstances and fixed case of that Nation, which has suffered *privat* and *sinister designs* to *worm* it self even into the heart of the Constitution thereof, which to amend, will perhaps counterpoise and evacuat all attempts, but the most strenous endeavours of the publick Spirit: And certain it is, that as, the *Government* of a Nation is an *Embleme* of the Genius of the People: so the state and condition of the People, seems to be the *Transcript* of the *force* of the *Government*, and of its *Sufficiency*. Whosoever shall travel through a *Countrey*, where there is nothing to be seen of *Building*, *Planting*, *Plowing* &c. will certainly conclude no men inhabit that forlorne Land; and he who is acquainted with the comely order and ease in the Conduct and

management of all Affairs, in some places & with all considers what it is there that influences with such profitable effects, the Particular affairs of men; if he thereafter shall take a survey of the *state* and *condition* of some other Countries, he will either think that they have not any thing of *Government*, or that their *Government* is of as much use to them, as a *Bridge* standing over the old *Channel* of a *River*, is to the *Passenger*, when the *Water* has taken another course.

7 As the first constitution of the *Body politick*, & under *Governement*, is a *Compagination* of such *pieces* & *parts*, ordered & fabricated to due *stations* and *motions*, and that by mens heads, and that for the *publick Good*, and as the vigor & efficacy of this *Compagination* depends on the perfection of the *Artificial methods* and ingenious composure, the effect also of *good Brains*; so its subject to *Disorders*, *spoiling* and *wast*, like other *Machines* & engines, and must have reparation, and that by artificial methods, the product of mens just reasoning and judgements,

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As no *Engine* or *Machine* was ever *fabricated*, that did not betray some imperfection in the course of its working, or by some supervenient interruption or accident was disordered, so such defects give occasion to the Wit of men, to be exercised thereon, which besides the improvement of the *Machine*, contributes to the sharpning of their invention,& teaching them Art and skill; and which they may apply to many other purposes,beside the application thereof to the amendement of the necessary or the supervenient and incident defects of such a *Machine*. And as it may be thus in the *Body politick*: so it may be thought, that by a mans laying out his thoughts on his *Countrey* & the *exigences* thereof,and by his exercising the *Acts* of *Providence*, *Circumspection* and *Caution* towards a *Nation*,he may acquire the true *improvement* of his mind and habitual *prudence*, besides his proving usefull and beneficial to the interest of the *Nation*, for bringing about all possible advantages, and the preventing imminent or probable hazards and dangers thereof.

8. And as the *Improvement* of a *Nation*, doth always depend upon & advance apace with the *Improvement* of mens minds, their acquiring the Habit & Faculty of penetrating, solid thinking and reasoning, nothing doth contribute more to this than the Ingenious and free *Conversation* with those who are masters of these Talents: and even a *wittie* strugle in *Conversation*, and warm bandying of Arguments doth make sundry new Lights Break up in mens minds; and Contradiction doth give men occasion to penetrat further into the subject, than an obsequious Complyance with all that one brings into the field, or says; providing it degenerat not into wrangling & retortion: so it is found that the faculties of the mind are improven by their exercise, as well as the force of the Body and feats of Agility, are by wrestling and the like exercises, And consequently the Lazienes of the *Mind* enervats its faculties, as much as the sloth of the *Body*, doth its vigor and strength: but above all there is nothing Improves the mind so much in pene-

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tration and ſolid reaſoning, as a mans commiting his thoughts to Writing, and the frequent revieuing, pondering and poliſhing them, by which he may have occaſion, to give them more order, Solidity and force.

9. Tho' every one cannot away with the fatigue and *tedium* of *Writing*, few wlll decline *Converſation* and *Diſcourſe* and to turn it to the byaſs of Ingenious, this may allure men; that ſuch *Converſation* improves their *minds* to a *largeneſs* and *Capacity*, to make juſt & ſolid *Hits* on every *Subject*: But if men be pleaſed to make the *Publick Improvements* the ſubjects of ſuch ingenuous *Converſe*, what advantage might that bring about to the *Publick*? and what relief to the diſorders and miſeries of a languiſhing and neglected *Nation*? even tho' it were at the brink of *Miſery* and *confuſion*, it might turn the dangers and difficulties, to *Proſperity* and *Flourſhing*: and thus, how happy is it for all, who can at once advance and exalt themſelves, and a *Nation*: and what can be more pleaſant more profitable and more noble than this?

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10. As great and solid Subjects of *Conversation* raises mens *minds* to a force, and their Faculties to a promptness, so the *futile*, *mean* and *Scurrilous Conversation*, depraves and disjoints them, and clouding the *Judgement*, leads men unawares into the habit of wrangling, and impertinen loose talking, the bane of all solid and sound reasoning.

11. And indeed whoever shall substract from some mens conversation, (who think themselves none of the least polite) the *flat*, & the *petulant*, the *frothy*, & the *scurile*, the *quibble*, & the *wrangle*, there will be found to remain litle or nothing behind therein.

12. And such conversation, seems not only noxious in it self, but condemnable, by reason of its infectious and contaminating *quality*, spreading its Contagious steems, and assimilating Power all round: there being in the most part a strong *Disposition* and *Promptitude* for, or *Susceptibility* of such *impressions* and depravations: for the *minds* of men are a fitter *Soil* for the seeds of Folly and Vice, where they have an easy and luxurient

orient increase, than they are for these of *Wisdom* and *Virtue*, where they must have a diligent *labour*, and due *Culture* for their propagation and growth; like out-landish *Plants*, while the other are *Natural*.

Not to insist upon these, who are not capable to *Spirit Conversation* or to quicken their flat *discourse* with any other *Emphasis*, but *Oaths* & *Execrations* and impious *Railery*, which as they are horrible & pernicious in themselves, & may be reckoned the *Spasms* and *Convulsions* of the *mind*, as obscene Rybaldry the *Iliack* Passion thereof; these are so far from being the *Salt* of *Conversation*, that they are the *Poyson*, and *Venom* of it, and of business too, making mens *faculties* as undisposed for any sound and wholesome *Operations* or *Productions*, as *Arsnick* or any other deadly *Poyson* makes the Body, where it produces *Numbness*, *Stupifaction*, *Palsyes*, *Convulsions*, and all other *Irregularities* & *Depravations* of the Animal *œconomy*. And as the first sort may be reckoned the *drons* of *Society*, these may be termed the *Wasps* thereof

thereof; yea they may be called the *Boars* and *Wolves*, the Beasts of *Prey*, that by wholeSale aim at the destruction of *Society*, and the devouring the good Fruits thereof.

13. These who can relish no *Conversation*, and look on all to be flat and Insipid *discourse*, that is not Sauced with *generous Liquor*, and animated with the briskness of a *Bottle*, must have very *dull*, *resty* & *stiff Brains*: They who can produce nothing, till they be Watered, soiled & strut with rich *Sauce* & costly *Juice*, must have *Jejune*, *dry* and *barren wits*, and they are surely affected with chill and *frozen heads*, that always need *Forraigne Spirits* to heat and inspire them to *thought* or *expression*; But which instead of *warming* and chafing, often kindles these *wild fires*, that lead them astray, into precepicies and *dangers*, and whose blaze ends in, aud leaves, a *Caput Mortuum*, and *dead Lees*, noxious & noisome both to their minds, and Bodies; to dispell which they often have recourse to the *Antidote* of the *hair* of the *Dog* that *Bit* them

them; And in the cure, as they are in danger of a *relapse*, so are they often made to run the Circle of *Sysiphus*'s labour; betwixt being *hurt* and *cured*, and *cured* and *hurt*: and the habit and custom in this, tho' it may be bewitching and tickling, is yet very dangerous and hurtfull; for in proportion that the *fansie* is heated and raised, the *Judgment* is chilled, and depressed: and when the *Imagination* is set on horse back to ride, it leaves the reason to trudg on foot, and to move so heaviely, that it can never come within cry of hot-*spurred mad fancy*, Ryding the *Carreer* of a wild un-backed *Colt*.

15. And such is the power and might of the *Wonderfull Bottle* (but it is only in favours of the Minor set of wits it exercises the preheminencie) that it can *Create men* of *Sense* and *Learning*, out of the *preexistent matter* of *meer dunce* and *fop*; And so it is no wonder, it had among the *Polytheists*, also its *Deity*; for when it causes the happy belching up (for generous *Liquor* raises wind nobly) of some *quirky-*

knack, *Scurrilous* or *profane* Jest, which strikes the *Filaments* of the *Brains* of these screwed up to the same *unison pegg* of *humour*, by the *sprightly Liquor*, it makes such an *harmonious tickling* and *quaint rebound*, that presently the virtue of the *large Carminative* or *wind driving dose* appears: and the *wind tub*, or rather the *Alembick* or *Stroup*, that eructates the *flashy Fumes* is furthwith dubbed a rich *Magazine*, and *nimble engine* of *Witt*, *Sense* and *Learning*: And the *fortunat dunce commences* a man of *ability* and *parts*, in the *business* and *Imployment*, which he hes most happly fallen upon, because the sufficiency of his *practise*, tho' of the greatest moment and concern, is most removed from the common *view*, albeit by reason of the *Intricacy* thereof, it requires the greatest *penetration* and *depth* of *thought*, *sure*, close & *clear* thought; but when a man is of such reach and thought, is farr beyond the power of vulgar eyes to discern, notwithstanding upon the due weighing the matter, all may know, these thoughts only are bred

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in the *upper*, *serene* and *pure* Regions of *Temperance* & *Sobriety*; and never among the *Damps* & *steemes* of excess and *Ryot*

16. And as the *Bottle* had its *Deity*, so it has its *Soveraignity*, or rather *Tyrany* that it exercises, & a despotical *dominion* and *power*, over men, making multitudes slaves, & obnoxious to the greatest *errors* & most important *mistakes*, for by virtue of that *dominion* and the *direfull effects* thereof, many are made to misplace the trust of their nearest & dearest particular concerns, & to lodg them in the hands of those, not only, of whose *capacity*, there is no *other* proof, but a meer *Phantom* of *reputation*, which has life, grouth, & Vigour, alone from the *Fumes* & *Damps* of this muddy & reeling Government, & which has much the same fundation with a Castle in the Air, but also of whose utter insufficiency there is evident demonstration: & therefore men that contentedly lye under the *Slavery* of this imposing *Deitie*, & the *Tyrany* of this deluding Dominion, with the Dismal, effects thereof, & that upon their nearest & dearest privat concerns; it may be feared that they

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will Pitifully *Triffle* or Horribly miſtake in *Publick* and *General* matters: which they look upon as more remote; ſuch men are therefore moſt earneſtly exhorted to grow wiſer, to aſſert & endeavour a freedom & delivery from this *dangerous bondage* & deluſion, and the miſerable effects of that Power, which by its Impreſſion and impoſing on them, thruſts at their moſt ſenſible and Noble parts: *otherways* there is litle hope of any help and ſupport from them, at a publick lift, whenſoever its needed, and how muchſoever it be incumbent for them to lend it.

17. Would men underſtand, who fill their minds with vain *Amuſements*, and *Triffle* away their Thoughts on *Follys*, and *Evaporat* their *Spirits* in *Deluſions*, or theſe who make their minds the nurſeries of *Malignity*, & *Seminaries* of *Venome*, both ſo Horrible and *Deſtructive* to themſelves and others, did men, I ſay, underſtand, what excellent and Noble productions, by *Conſideration*, *Culture* and *Care* they were capable of, both in relation to themſelves, and the

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Publick; and how opportune, and ſeaſonable ſome times their actings might be, and alſo how criminal their neglects are; they would with Terrour and amazement, deſert that *Noxious*, impious and Damnable *Traffick*, and train their *Minds* with *Genuine*, *Solid* and *kindly objects*, which would not only work ſo great and direct effects without, and within, but would by reflection, give inward Peace and *Tranquillity*, and make the mind Impregnable, *Invulnerable* and *ſecure*; againſt all *Atacques* and *Viciſſitudes* of *Fortune*; Yea this would raiſe it into ſuch *Raptures* and *Joys* as are the *reſult* of a *ſincere Conſcience* of the greateſt Acts of *well doing*, and which for Stability and degree, exceed both expreſſion and Comprehenſion. And what can be more takeing, and alluring, more proportionat to the pure Rational deſires, and elevated powers; or more ſuitable to the Aſpirings of a *Soul*, at *Liberty* and freedom to act, without being clogged and perverted by the *Animal* diſorderly Appetits, or by the force and Impetuo-

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sity of these powers, Commonly termed Spiritual *Wickedness* in high places? And if these called *Heathens*, had distinct Vieus and powerful impressions of such things, what Arrogancy is it for those, to Usurpe the name and Title of *Christians*, who are Blind and Stupid as to such affections?

18. And whosoeve shall have their Eys opened, duely to contemplat the *Nature*, *Excellency* and *Energy* of the true *Publick Spirit*; both in it self, and in the *Seasonableness* and Desireableness, thereof in some cases, and shall have a true Notion of the Grandeur, *Splendor* & *Magnificence* that is therein, especialy considered as to some *times* and *places*, they will, nor only, be forced to forgo their fond Dotage on *Trivial* and *base* things, and be loosed from the Execrable *Bondage* to that which is *Pernicious* and *Malign*; but in comparison of it, they shall be made to dis-claime the deference they have for the *Lustre* of all these more indifferent and innocen Pageantries, and Pompuous appearances; such as Fame, Honour, Power, Riches

Riches, &c. which amuse the unthinking World so much; And which not only distract and hinder the mind from receiving true and solid Impressions of *Great* and *Illustrious*, but also which imposes upon men false and mistaken *Notions* of them; for all those poor *Phantasms* of *Grandeur* and *Faint Umbarges* of *Splendour* which dazle vulgar eyes with admiration, and Charm their Affections with Desire and Veneration, will like the *light* of a *Glow worm*, disappear at the rising of this *Orient-Sun*; which with his *Enlightning Beams*, and *discussing Rays*, will banish all these *Earthy Exhalations*, *Night Meteors* and *Wild-Fires*; especialy if the *Atmosphere* of mens *understanding* be not overspread with a *Cimmerian fog*, so thick that, like the *Egyptian* darkness, it may be felt, and prove impenetrable to the *Rays* of this *Glorious Sun*.

19 Tho' the Paint and Varnish of words, like the work of the Pensil, may often outdoe the Original, yet as in Painting, there are some Objects which cannot truly be represented by the most exqui-

ſit Colours and Stroaks; ſuch as the *Sun*, *Fire*, and the *Luſtre* of *Precious Stones*; ſo there are ſomethings, whoſe Nature and Capacity, cannot be ſufficiently Illuſtrated by the moſt *ſublime* and *refined expreſſions*; all that we are able to know thereof, being ſome Effects, but theſe by reaſon of the Indiſpoſition of the matter they are to work upon, too limited and ſtinted to hold furth, fully their *Nature* and *Properties*: and of this kind is, I think, this *Heroick Vertue* of a *Publick Spirit*, actuated with a *Penetrating*, and regulated with a *Solid Judgement*; and how *Admirable Magnificent* and *Stupenduous* may it's Effects be, if its *Energie* and *power* be receaved and admitted to expatiat thro' any Nation that does afford a vaſt field of *Subject matter* of *Improvement*, *Cultur* & *Reformation*, & that according to the *Sentiment* of all theſe, who haveing either a true *feelling* or *fellow* feeling, are endued with a *delicat ſenſe* and *exquiſit reliſh* of *Right Reaſon* and *Order*; for *groſſer heads* being inſenſible of any thing, but what Immediatly touches them-

themſelves, and that in the groſſeſt manner, are not ſenſible of *Publick Defects*, *Diſorders* and *Abuſes*, and perceive no uſe or need of publick *Improvement*, *Amendement*, and *Rectification*; Yea and even like the *Iſraelites*, they often prefer the Slavery of *Egypt*, with the *Onions* and *Garlick*, before a Journey to the Land of *Canaan*.

20. This *Fellow-feeling* and *Sympathiſing Publick Genius* doth not reſt in a Paſſibility, but alſo is very *active*, *Communicative* and *Diffuſive* for it doth not *Concenter* it's *Operations* within the *Sphere* of *Self*; but like the *Anima Mundi* of the *Philoſophers*, is diſpoſed to communicat due *Vigor*, *Spirit* and *Grouth* to all the parts of the *Body Politick*; and without it, it may be ſaid to be dead; this like the *Primum Mobile* Influences all the parts, to *Harmonious* and *orderly Motions*; this like the Soul in the Body, not only keeps the *Body Politick* from Languiſhing or Diſſolution, but animats all the *Faculties* and *Functions* to their beſt and moſt perfect *Operations*: if it fall not out,

as it often happens in the *Body Natural*, that *Groſs*, *Obſtinate*, *Perverſe*, and *Virulent Humours*, do ſtop the Channels through which the Influences ſhould paſs. Yea this Operative Principle, as to its own Nature, ſeems to be the very life of the *Soul*, and to raiſe the *Soul* to as great a hight and perfection as the *Soul* does the *Body*; and as no true *probity* can be without it, ſo it is never perfect and compleat without *Probity* and the fear of GOD; Which is not only the beginning, but alſo the end of this *Operative* and *Communicative Wiſdom*, and therefore it may be called a *Spark* and *Ray* of the *Divinity*, ſtill flameing with a *Fervent Zeal* for *Reformation* and *Melioration*, for the eſtabliſhment of *Peace* on Earth, and *good will* toward men, in the ſeeking the good of *others* as much as our *own*: and as this is the half of the *Law*; So it is the half of the way to *Eternal Happineſs*; to which none can arrive, without going in the way leading thereto.

21. It is not unknown what rank theſe *Vertues*, *Honeſty*, *Fidelity* and *Friend-*

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ſhip, hold in the eſteem of men; and how much men that are thought the poſſeſſors thereof are *Valued* and *Honoured*; tho' theſe *Vertues* be exerciſed only in privat and particular caſes; Yea and oftentimes only they are *Mercenary* and Trading *Vertues*, baiting with ſmaller *Acts* to angle greater *Ones*. But *Honeſty*, *Fidelity* and *Friendſhip* conſidered in Relation to the publick *Concern*, are of as much more *Excellency* and uſe, as the *Body Politick* is more Valuable than Particular Perſons; And alſo as wanting the *Allay* of a proſpect of *Return* and *Remuneration*, often Sullieing theſe *Privat Vertues*; The Publick being not always the beſt Pay-Maſter for the Service done. And the like may be ſaid of all theſe other *Moral Vertues*, which are exerciſed without us, and toward outward Objects; Such as *Juſtice*, *Fortitude*, *Beneficence* and *Magnificence*; which when they are exerciſed toward the *Publick*, are as far beyond them, when Converſant about *Privat Objects* and *Concerns*, as

as the *Publick* it self is beyond *Privat* and *Particular*.

22. And as this *Heroick Temper* of a *publick Spirit*, doth not only comprehend almost all other *virtues*, and thereby hath its *Excellency* and *Greatness* augmented; so it has its *Excellency* and *greatness* farther multiplyed, as far as when *privat* and *particular* is multiplied into *general* and *publick*, & so it does not only consist of a *complication* of many single *vertues*, every one whereof as haveing the *publick concern* for it's *Object*, is more noble than all the train of *private virtues*; but it does likeways include these, so *sublimed* and *refined* from the *Allay* of *Mercenary*, which doth often taint these *privat virtues*; that *vertue* can no where be said to be so *essential*, *genuine* and *sublimed* as here.

23. Morover these *Vertues*, *Honesty* and *Fidelity*, and that *Cardinal Vertue*, *Justice*, as they are most *excellent* when exercised toward the *publick*; So they are scarcely ever *genuine* and *true*, when they are not also exercised toward

toward the *publick*; and therefore no man can be ſaid to be *ſincerely Honeſt*, *Faithful*, or *Juſt* to any man, who is not ſo to the *publick*; all his pretence of *Vertue* being *meer Pageantry* & *ſhow*? rather taken on to *delude* & *amuſe* men, than from a real motive of *Vertue*; rather to drive a *Traffique* of good deeds for returns more profitable, than from a true *Principle* of *goodneſs*; ſo he ſtands not to put off his *ſophiſticat Ware*, providing he can do it with ſafety and ſecurity to his Trade.

24. Yea I may affirm that *Honeſty*, *fidelity* and *Juſtice*, have the Publick more eminently for their *Object*, and wherever they are in *Reality*, they will not fail principaly to exert and bend themſelves towards the *Publick*; which will be more plain, if we conſider that no man is *proprietar* or *Maſter* of the *Office*, *Qualifications*, *Riches*, or other *Talents* he has; that what ever he has, he has received it from another, and that for a determinat end & uſe, and therefore he is only *Adminiſtrator*, and *Diſpenſer* thereof; and Bound by all the

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Laws of *Honesty*, *Fidelity* and *Justice*, to imploy it in the service of the *Donor*, for the use and end it was bestowed upon him, that is, for the *good* of *others*, or the *Publick Good*.

25. And tho' a Stewart may live by his *Office*, and make use of *necessaries*; he cannot without *Injustice* & *Treachery*, amass *Superfluitys* to himself, to Riot thereon, or to pamper his *Vanity*, *Avarice* or *Luxury* therewith. And so if no man can warrantably make a privat *Acquisition*, but either in Proportion to the service he does for the *Publick*, or with a design to imploy it, in fitting or qualifieing himself for the Publick service, *how Guilty then is he who only imploys his* Office or *Trust to make a* Privat Conquest, *tho' otherways he stands obliged by* Office *or* Commission?

26. And as no man ought to hide his *Talent* in the Ground of a *Privat Acquisition*, so it is observed to have been the *Fate* of him that had only one *Talent*, as the *Gifts* of *Fortune* who misimployed it, whereas these who rightly imployed them, were such as were in-

trusted with more *Talents*, as being not only intrusted with *Riches* or *Offices*, but having likeways the *Talents* of an accomplished *Prudence* and *Solid Judgment*, and thereby able to put the true estimation on every thing, are not carried away with the *false glister* which *Vulgar Opinion* puts upon *Triffles* and *Bagatells*; but do imploy themselves in the pursuit of the Best things, that is, things for the *Publick*.

27. And so all *Privat Acquisitions* of *Estates*, *Honours* and *Titles*, seem *Sacrilegious* and *Fraudulent* Misapplications of these Talents bestowed on men, unless on the *Reverse* of such *Acquisitions*, there be found Writen a proportional *Service* done to the *Publick*, yea and the *Guilt*, like a *Passive Title*, will not fail to descend with, and stick to, the *Acquisition* unto their *Posterity*; unles their *Successors* take pains to expiat it, by imploying themselves and those *Estates* and *Offices* in all sincere and strenuous *Endeavours* for the *Publick*, in their Time and *Generation*.

And

28. And as all *Titles* and *Honours* acquired without a proportionable publick *Merit*, ſeem not only *Sacrilegious* and *meer mock Titles*, but they appear exceedingly Injurious and Diſparaging to theſe who have the like Titles, and *Honours* built upon a ſufficient *Fond* of *true Publick Merit* and *Vertue*, as robing it of its diſtinguiſhing *Mark*, and a pitieful *Profanation* of its due *Character* and *Badg*; *Nobilitas ſola eſt atq; unica virtus*. And the continuation of *Titles* and *Honours* unto the *Poſterity* ſeems to be a *Pledge* for the continuance of their *Publick* Merit and *Fidelity*, which if the *Succeſſors* fail to make *good*, they ſeem in my humble opinion, to do no leſs, than belie their *Quality*, *reprobate* their *Character*, and Proclaim their *Degeneracie* with a *Witneſs*.

29. Moreover this *Heroick Vertue*, of a Publick *Spirit*, hath an exceeding *Propagative* and *Prolifick Vertue*, and aſſimilating power, labouring ſtill to increaſe and Multiply, as knowing its *Inherency* in a Subject *Caduciary* and *Tranſitory*, and that men are not only mor-

mortal, but alſo very ſhort lived, *Ars longa vita brevis*, it labours to propagat this *Vertue* both in the preſent and to the future Generations; And tho' the Seed Sown for this purpoſe, often falls upon Rocky and Stony Ground, or among Thorns, yet this Genius ſpares no labour, hazard or coſt, to raiſe an Increaſe: And albeit only in a *Privat* Capacity, and not dignified by fortune with a *Public Character*, he ſuffers not a pernicious Indifferency, or deteſtable Neutrality to prevail, to keep him from exerting his whole capacity, in the *Projecting* of, and endeavouring to promote any profitable and advantagious overtures, for the *Publick* and *Common* Concern; becauſe he looks on ſuch a *Negligence* as a *Treachery* to the *Publick*; Nor is he ever diſcouraged by diffidence and diſpair of ſucceſs, from any Indiſpoſition of the Matter that is to be wrought upon; Knowing the great and unexpected Effects of a conſtant and Vigorous Application; and the force of *joint Endeavours* which he ſtill aims to procure; However indiſpoſed and untract-

able, the ſubject may appear to be, in reſpect of the *Humours*, *Cuſtoms* and *Intereſts* of *Men*; which no where can always ſtand out the conſtant and vigorous Aſſaults of the *Publick Genius*, but it muſt gain ground at length, unleſs where an *affected ſtupidity*, *Reſolute Perverſneſs*, and *Judicial Blindneſs*, have taken too firm Rooting, which perhaps too long and uncontroled cuſtom may be in danger to introduce in ſome places.

30. And what ever the *Publick Spirit* aims at in a *Privat* Capacity; his edge is rather whetted, than abated, if he arrive at any more *Publick Capacity* or *Truſt*; and tho' this Quality ſeems only to twinkle in a privat *Breaſt*; yet in the Breaſt of a *Publick Perſon*, or of theſe who are eminent for their *Extraction*, or *Character*, it ſhines with a *meridian Radiancy* and *Luſtre*; becauſe this *Quality* is both more *Glorious* and *Cheriſhing* in ſuch, and more *Sincere* and *Genuine*. Experience oftimes ſhewing, that *advancement* or *Greatneſs* is a more exact touch-ſtone to this Vertue, than

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Lowness and *Depression*, the last of which, some men have weathered out, when they have been seen to succumb to the *First*; in regard that *Prosperity* and *Advancement*, is a better test of some mens *Secret Dispositions* than Adversity; As is well Illustrated, by the *Fable* of the *Contention* betwixt the *Sun* and the *Wind*, which of them had most *Power* and *Strength*; they both agreeing to try their force upon a *Traveller*; And the *Wind* Blowing first and increasing it's Violence and Storme, it only made the Poor *Traveller* to wrap his Garments closs about him, but the *Sun* by shining *Brighter* and *Warmer*, made him instantly throw all his Cloaths aside: and tho' the *Sun* of *Prosperity* and *Advancement*, sometimes can doe what the *Wind* of *Adversity* has attempted in Vain; yet *Lordships* will not change manners, with the true *Publick Spirit*; Nor will be ever Tempted, by all the *Pageantry* of *Fortune*; to lay aside the real *Ornament* and *Jewel* of a *Publick Mind*; And the *Arguments* and *Motives* to be represented to any,

who may be in the Circumſtances of ſuch a Temptation, might be thus, That as on one hand, this Vertue of a *Publick Spirit*, doth never Shine ſo *Glorious*, as when *Triumphant*; nor doth any thing aggrandize a man ſo much, and evince him to be realy of that *Temper* as when he comes off a Victorious & undaunted *Conqueror*, after the ſharpeſt *Bickerings* & Conflicts with both fortunes; ſo on the other hand, it might be repreſented that of all the kinds of ſelf *ſeeking*, the *Apoſtat ſiniſter ſelf ſeeker*, the *fallen Angel*, who was once enlightned, as he ſeems to reſemble the Devil moſt, both in his Fall and his *Diſpoſition* and *Power* to do *Miſchief*, ſo he may likeways partake moſt, of his *Puniſhment* and *Doome:* And thoſe are truly two very far diſtant extreams, yet each of them doth fully quadrat to the ſtate of each of the perſons.

31. This *Univerſal Active Principle* & *Heroick Vertue*, for all its *Excellency* & *worth* hath not only its *Obſtacles* & *difficulties* in its *Operation* from the Indiſpoſition of the *Inſtruments*, it is to work with

with, and the intractability of the matter it is to work upon; but like all great things, it often has its corrival, & like all pretious things, it rarely misses to have its *Counterfit*; which indeavour to defeat, or to ape, its *Illustrious* effects; and in *Lieu* thereof, and often in *competition* therewith, compears the base *Allay* of *Publick Pretension*, *Sophisticated* with less or more of the mixture of *inordinat self seeking*; which often times stands not, yea and also under a *Publick Trust*, to Sacrifice the most Important, and precious *Publick Concerns* to *privat Design*. And this Privat *Spirit*, is always as *Pernicious*, as the *Publick Spirit* is *advantagious*, and as *Black*, as the other is *Beautiful*; yea, and in some *places* and *times*, as *Common*, as the other is *Rare*: Custome and inconsideration giving oftimes such a free Currency, and vent, to this *base Coine*, that it seems to pass *cum privilegio*: And to such an effect, that men are not only like to be deprived of all their true Gold *in Specie*; but even of the very Notion of it, being in dange

to lose not only the *genuine Practice* of this *Publick Vertue*; but also the *Idea* of it: As it must be there, where in Comparison of the Effects of its *Corrival* & *Counterfit*, there are so very few Effects of the *Publick Spirit*, and far less regrate for the want of it, or indeavours to encourage or retrive such a *Spirit*, tho' it be an indispensable Charge, and Duty, lying upon every member of the *Body Politick*, in what ever station he be, unless he would prove an useless and Rotten member, to be assistant to his *Countrey*, in all *publick Difficulties*, by his *Witt* and *Counsel* as well as by his *Hand*, in time of *Publick War*; there being no Station that doth incapacitat any man to be assistant in some *measure* to the Publick good: Especialy when a Nation is in real and great *Difficulties*; nor doth an *affected ignorance* of the state of the *Publick*, nor a Supine *Negligence* to dive into the *Nature* and *Circumstances* thereof, nor a *Pusillanimous* diffidence of *Success*, excuse any man, from acting such a part of a good *Common-well's*

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man, as in this case he is Capable or might be Capable of, by the closest application and hardest study.

32. And as there is put in every man a *Natural Trust* concerning his *Countrey*, so there is oftimes Superinduced thereto, a *moral* or *political Trust*, either by *Place*, *Office* or *Commission*, and which if sought after, it superadds yet to the Obligation, and *Trust*: far less then excuseable are these, whose *Degree*, *Office* or *station*, makes them eminently both lyable and Capable, to serve the *Publick*; and yet in any measure neglects it, either for *Hope*, *Fear* or *Favour*, as these are in danger to do, who being in *Circumstances* making it difficult for them to discharge faithfully a *Publick Trust*, do notwithstanding *seek*, or accept it, or these who after acceptation of such a *Trust*, put themselves under such *Circumstances* and *Difficulties*: *Gifts* and even the hopes of them, *Blinding* the *Eyes* and *perverting* the *Judgement*; it being indeed exceeding hard for Flesh and Blood, to dally with Temptation, and to stand it out too.

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33 Nether seems any mans meer *Ignorance*, *weakness* or *mistake* sufficient to excuse his errors in the discharge of his *Trust*, for every mans acceptation of a *Publick Commission* or *Trust*, much more if he hes sought it, seems to oblige him, to be sure that he hes the qualifications requisit for the discharge thereof, Especialy, such a measure of the *Publick Spirit* as is proportional to the Trust: And so I humbly conceave that every man seems bound to be *Faithful*, and *Honest*, in the *Acceptation* as well as in the *Discharge* of every *Publick Commission*, and *Trust*; and if he faill, be *Supine* and *Negligent* in the Examination and Tryal of the *first*, he will never be true in the *Last*: And in regard that *Publick Trusts*, tho' of farr greater *moment* than *Privat Trusts*, are often conferred upon less Proof of the *Qualifications* of the person, than *Privat Trusts* are; this seems to lay on the accepter, a stricter Obligation to *Qualification*, than any privat Trust does: such *Publick Trusts*, being always given, *periculo petentis* or *acceptantis*, upon

pon the *peril* of the *seeker* or *receaver*; And also *periculo publico*, at the first peril of the *Publick*; which I am sure every *Honest* man, will be very tender of; And so it may be easily conceaved, if men who are so forward in the procuring or accepting of *Publick Offices* and *Trusts*, were in their right minds, and acted like men, having a due *Impression* of a *Soveraign Law-giver*, and of *Laws relating* to them, armed with suitable *Rewards* and *Punishments*; it would undoubtedly make them as diligent and careful, to understand their due Qualifications to Discharge the rigorous Obligations to act the *Publick Spirit*, that they *put* on themselves, with the *Indispensible* and *exact diligence* incumbent on them, by vertue of their *acceptation* of, almost, the least *Publick* Trust: and which must be such, as the most *Prudent* use in their own *affairs*, yea and if some men reflected on the many Difficulties that ly in their way, and on the great Dangers that hang over their Heads, in the discharge of some Trusts, and how far greater

and more they are than in privat affairs and Trusts: Then, I fear, it would be as Common for men to abscond and to flee from *Publick Offices*, as it's usual for them, to set up for them, and to seek them: Yea, and also, by the most indirect means to obtain them: it being to the Considerable dis-advantage of the *Publick concern*, when, not only, *Unworthy* Persons are preferred, but others more deserving are excluded; And thus men to gratifie their Vitious *Humours* and *Inclinations*, and to serve themselves, their puisne *Designs* and *Conquests* of *Ambition* and *Avarice* &c. Stand not to endamnage the *Publick*, oftimes at a far greater Rate, than any petty *Advantage* or *pleasure*, that can thereby accrew to themselves. But when this is Examined to the bottom, of how Unjust, Cruel and Treacherous a temper must these men be, besides these duties that are notour and indisputable, there may be perhaps some other things very incumbent on men in Office, which are not always Considered nor practised by them, in the discharge of their

Trust

Trust; And for an Instance I shall venture on the answer to this one *Question.*

34. And the *Question* is, *Whither* or not, when any co-ordinat Member of a Court of *Judicature*, evidently sees a matter, especialy of Import, carried on by partiality and *Injustice*, ought he to be content himself, with a simple withdrawing, or with a bare, *No?* or if he ought by vertue of this *Office* and *Trust*, and to Vindicat himself from a partial Connivence, enter a Legal *Dissent*, with the Reasons thereof, as use is in some Courts, *viz.* The House of Lords in *England*? And the reason for such a Legal and formal Dissent, may be in consideration that these who are yoaked with others in Office, ought to be so careful of their making good work, that its not enough that they draw right themselves unless they endeavour that others do so likewise; without which they seem no better than Animals yoaked together, whereof every one is no further Solicitous than of his own Draught; and therefore such a Dissent at last might not only be a mean to turn the present

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Chace, especialy, if it proceed upon the precipitancy of heat or mistake, or upon palpable *Sinister Design*, which second thoughts might give many one oportunity to discover: But also it might serve for a check for the like proceedings in time coming, and withall, exeem the Dissenter from being huddled up in the same bundle of *unjust doers* with the rest, to be exposed to an *Inquisition*, either in this World, or the World to come, or in both.

35. If to this it be answered, that such a method as this, might be looked on as an affected and offensive singularity, would raise needless heats and animosities, and draw divisions to too great a hight.

36. To this it may be replyed, first, as to the novelty and singularity of this; tho' the Practise be new, yet the obligation and Duty may be as old as the Laws of *Fidelity* and *Trust*: and old Inveterat Errors never prescribe; and the older they are, there lyes the greater Obligation on men to cast them off, as the more *Perillous* and burden-

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ſome; and like old *Criminals* they ought to be made away, and Juſtice done on them, for the deſtruction they have already don: And men have litle ſenſe of their ſtrict duty, who are Scared with ſuch *Hob-Goblings*, as *Novelty*, *affectedneſs* or Offence taken, at their faithful Diſcharge of any important piece of ſervice required of them: yea that man deſerves no ſmall Commendation, who ſhall firſt break off a bad Cuſtom, and Introduce a good one; and this can never be done, without a beginning: As for the Heats and Diviſions, ſuch a practiſe may bring: It might be Replyed, that, its nowayes Reaſonable to ſay, that every thing ought to be foreborn, which may raiſe *Heats* and *Animoſities*; yea every thing that neceſſarly will have that effect, ought not to be put off, if it be a duty and has a tendency to a greater Good, than the Evil it can produce; For *Example*, a mans neceſſary defending againſt violent and rigorous Attaques: But in the Caſe here ſtated, the evil Conſequences ſeem only by accident,

and

and through the fault and Infirmity of the opposit party, who find themselves touched in the *quick* by such an action: for a *Frivulous protestation*, will rather cause Laughter than Heat, or *Animosity*: And since, *cuilibet protestari licet*, every man may protest, and withall they are within the bounds of their duty, and acting suitable to their *Trust*, they seem to have no reason of Remorse, for the accidental effects it has on others, especialy when to Ballance the evill *Effects*, they have a prospect of a Turne, it may give to the *present Carreer*; or at least, of putting an exemplary *Check* upon the like Proceedings, in time comeing; For such Invasions and Incroachments upon *Justice* and *Right*, truely and Humbly submitted to, always seem to encourage to the repetition of them: whereas Reason and Justice, tho' it take not present Impression, yet time and thinking doth make it have its due, or the equivalent effects; Especially when its ushered with such a solemnity. And if meer *mistake*, *Weakeness* and *incapacity* cannot excuse

any man, in the Discharge of a *Trust*, where even *neglects* are *Criminal*, how little then excuseable are they, who, with the *stock* of a *Publick Capacity* and *Trust* drive mainly *Privat* and *By-Trade*? as these who mainly study to delude Vulgar Eyes, and play *leger de main* in the Discharge of their *Trust*; whose Actions being *Anatomized*, will be found only, to be the well Coutche't *Intrigues*, and dexterous *Windings* of a *quick-sighted*, *plodding* and *dangerous self*.

38. And not only so *Treacherous*, but also so *Exorbitant*, *Rapacious* and *Cruel*, is subtile *selfish Design Armed* with *Power*, become, that to acquire or to preserve privat *Triffles*, it will not stand, to endanger or Sacrifice the *Talents* and *Treasures* of the *Publick*: yea in some cases even the all of the *Publick*; sometimes by positive and direct *Acts*, and sometimes by *neglect* and *connivence*, winking at the greatest *Publick risque*, rather than to run the least danger to their *Privat Designs*; yea with some even a *Smile* or a *Frown*,

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will cast the *Ballance* to the side of *Self*: And these may, in my opinion, be reckoned *Criminal* Connivers at such Important *Abuses*, who, tho', the abuse belongs not to their particular and proper *Inspection*, and *Charge*; considering their general Charge requires their noticeing the securing every thing that may conduce to the relieving and helping the Publick; and if they neglect it, and that either from Remissness, or Design, Hope or Fear: For as no man knows how far his sincere and constant *Indeavours* may go for the Common good, so nothing can excuse any man, but his *Sincerity* and *Constancy*, notwithstanding of the pretence of imprudence to medle, or the Improbability of *Success*; which are often nothing but *Hob-Goblings*, set up by themselves, which cannot exoner any man, far less these who are further capable, as being in *Eminency* & Office, from a guilty *Connivence here*.

39. Yea so gross a *Monopolizer*, and base an *enhanser*, *Self* often becomes, of mens *Designs*, even of their *Minds* and *Thoughts*; that tho' the Publick good

good interfere nothing with their Privat *Interest*, yet they grudge to spare the least Care or Application to the greatest *Publick* strait. And the more *Pregnant Spirited*, and *sprightly witted*, or Eminent these men be, who neglecting the *Publick*, are wholly *Monopolized* to the Acts of *Privat Designe*, and Cultivate the *Artifices* of *Self*; as there is still the more *Loss*, *Hazard*, and danger, to the *Publick*, so they are the more *Criminal*: for *Weak men* and *obscure* Persons, as they can do little Hurt, so they can do little Good to the *Publick*, however disposed or inclined they be.

40. And that bare *Neglects* and *Omissions*, are not always of so slight a *Dye*, as most part apprehend, may appear by the Charge to be given to the *Pannals*, at the last *great Audit*: all the *Guilt* then Chargeable on them, being, their not *feeding* the *Hungry* and *Cloathing* the *Naked* &c. which without any great streach or Torture of the Text, may, I think, be applyed to the neglect to act the *Publick Spirit*, in the due *projecting* and *prosecuting*

the *means* and *methods*, to feed the *Hungry*, and *Cloath* the *Naked* &c of a *whole Nation:* for if the neglect of *Privat* Acts of *Charity* be so *Criminal*, what will the neglect of *National Reformation* and *Improvement* be? which in some places and times may go near to supply all the necessities and grievances of the whole, how urgent and pressing soever they be.

41. And this *Selfishness*, considered only under the Quality of *Affected Unconcernedness* and *Neutrality* for, and supine *Negligence* of, the *Publick Concerns*, is so much the more Dangerous, where it is *Epidemical* and *Predominant*, because its a Mother *Vice*, and fundation of universal *Disorder*, *Abuse* and *Misery*, tho' by long custome, and Familiarity, it may be so habituated and *ingraind*, in mens *Nature*, that like the *Fever Hectick*, it is scarce discerne l, till it appear horrible, by its emaciating and wasting Effects on the Publick; but if it be join'd with *Rapacious*, *Active*, & *Privatiering sinister Self*, *acting* in *Masquarade*, and *Rampant* under the Colours of *Publick*

lick Trust: its to be feared, where ever it is so, like a Burning Fever, it will quickly put the case past hopes.

42. When we universaly see men so unjustly *selfish*, that in Privat *Negotiations* & *Performances*, they stand at no *Subterfuge*, *Prevarication*, or *Chicane*, to advance their *Designs*; tho' this cannot be done in privat cases, but with a great deal of struggle, and controle, seing every man is prompt & Vigilant to maintain his proper Right, wh ch makes the large field of *Law Suits*, which is nothing but the *Skirmishings* betwixt *Honest* and *sinister Self*, and with which some Nations are in Proportion to their bussines, so much more infested than others are; how can we think especialy where privat *Law Suits* super-abound, which is always where Lawyers abound, and thrive best, that men will be there more tender of, and just in, the *Publick concerns*? whose Injuries and *Incroachments*, seem not as yet to have gotten a sufficient Vindicator, nor Rights an Assertor in every place.

43. As in *Merchandise*, the *great* and *whole sale Traders* draw all the reputation, from the petty, privat and Pedling *Retailers*; who are not much considered in respect of the former; so no man, with considerable *Reputation*, can follow the Trade of privat cheating, *Extortion* or Oppression, but he will be sure to be payed soundly home, by *Common-Fame*: nevertheless it has been seen, that these, who are any thing masters of their Trade, and can with a *bon mean* and *Air* of *Gallantry*, do it, may securely drive the *great* and *whole-Sale Trade*, of *Defrauding*, *Extortion*, and *Oppression*, in *Publick* and *Common* Concerns; and not only without all *Tasch* to their *Honour*, and *Credit*; But even with the Considerable accession thereto: for doth not *Money*, however purchased, add to a *man's Character*; and if there be a more *effectual* and *Compendious way*, yea and *Creditable* way, of making an *Estate*, than by meddling with, or against the *Publick Concerns*, it may be appealed to a narrow and *Curious View* and *Survey*, to be

be taken of all these, who have suddenly become Rich by meddling this way: alas! doth not this show how little love or care of the *Publick Interest*, there is among men: since it has not, so much as *Common Fame*, for its *Security* or *Guardian*, it being always known, that *Fame* is founded on, and directed by Vulgar Sentiment and Opinion.

44. And whither it be from Neglect or over-sight, in the administration of *Publick affairs* there; or from the extraordinary *Cunning* & *Nimblenes* of some *Men*, that know to lye at a *Catch* and from the *Embuscade*, are skilled to draw a *booty* off the *Publick*; where it often fals out that *Sharpers* by driving an altogether unlawful, and hurtfull *Trade* to the *Publick*; have made considerable *Privat Advantage*: And that *Shirks* by mean and pettie publick Offices, have suddenly increased (like the Spleen in the Body Natural) with the emaciating of the *Body Politick*, it seems worth the *Administrators* of the *Publick Affairs* their Pains, in such places to enquire; at the least to prevent the like in time

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comeing; for these who make so Considerable *Privat Purchases*, by mean *Publick Imployements*, requiring neither great *Skill*, nor *Prudence*; must ether do it, by over-reaching the *Publick* in the Transaction, or by *Purloyning*, *Oppression* or *Fraud* in the exercises of their *Offices*: and indeed there is scarce Checks sufficient, as yet, for those in all places.

45. And the constant Farming of the *Publick Revenues* in a *Nation*, doth in the opinion of some, give shreud suspition, that there is scarce so much Honesty to be found in that Nation, as may allow the setting and uplifting them by *Collection*; for thereby the Publick could not be overreached in the bargain, nor privat persons Imposed upon, in the ingathering of them: it being plain, that, the *Farming* them seems inavoidably to expose the *Publick*, to be over-reached, in the setting, or if that fail, in the *Payment*, and the People to Oppression in the uplifting them.

46. For all the Pretences to the *Purity* of *Religion* and *Reformation*, in some

ſome places and times, many ſtand not ſay, that there has not been among them, either ſuch indeavours or ſuch ſucceſs in bearing down this *Peſtilent Vice*, of *inordinat* and *Publick Devouring Self* ſeeking, and of advancing its Contrary *Vertue*, as has been found among ſome called *Heathens*; who may on that Score be called much better *Chriſtians*, and ſo in the Day of *Judgment*, it may be more tolerable for *Tyre* and *Sidon*, than for them. Yea and where many of theſe, whoſe *Vocation* and *Function*, more eſpecially entitles them to uſe *Doctrinal Indeavours* to Reform men, chooſe to dwell upon the little *Zoars* and to teaſe the *Peccadillo's* of men's privat and *Perſonal Vices*, and ſcarce ever venture to put ſoundly home upon theſe deluded with the *Meretricious Embraces* of this great *Strumpet*, *Publick Devouring Self*, that *Grand Whore* of *Babylon* and *mother* of *Harlots*, that maketh the Nations *Drunk* with the *Wine* of Her *Fornication*; perhaps ſome may think that there they would heal the Wound of the People

too

too *slightly*, and Solder it up *unfaithfully*, or that they forbear to meddle thus, lest they should be bidden cast the first *Stone*; or that they let the matter slip through their *Fingers*, as *thinking* is a subject too Hot for them: and that their Pretentions to Discretion, Moderation, and Prudence, in this case, are only the fair and Plausible Draughts of subtile and Cautelous Self; and some of them, aiming to act the *prudent-man*, because of the near resemblance betwixt the two, may slip into acting the *wylie-man*.

47. And mens Want of due Exercise of this part of the *Publick Spirit*, and especialy these whose *Character* and *Function* requires them more eminently to notice and to reprehend Publick crying Vices, besides that, it imports their being Rotten and insensible members of the *Body Politick*, yea and unfaithful to their *Charge*, it seems in the opinion of some, to lay a direct imputation on the *Government* of a Nation; as if it were meerly *Arbitrary* and *despotical*, where none durst mutter his own or his neighbours *Sufferings* and *Grievances*

rances, and that they were under the ſame ſtate of happy Unity, and eaſe, with that Nation, which is praiſed becauſe no complaints dare be heard therein; ſo they would alſo appear free from Grievances; whereas ſuch do think that it is only in a free and juſt *Government*, where no ſooner any member is hurt, but he may cry out, which is thought the only way to diſabuſe the Prince ſeduced by miſrepreſentation, much more if *Publick diſorders* and Abuſes ſpread, and become grievous, & by their diſmal effects begin to become dangerous, they ought to be complained of, if it be expected they ſhould be Rectified, and they moreover plead ſome Specialities in the Condition and Circumſtances of ſome people, to allow a greater Latitude in this matter, than to others who are under the more immediat inſpection and conduct of their Soveraigns; but how far this will hold, is left to others to determine.

48. Wherefoever a *Spirit* of *Self* and *privat Deſign*, in ſuch a caſe, is predominant, and among theſe alſo endued

with more immediat *Authority* or *Capacity* to rectifie things, in whom negligence alone about *Publick* Reformation & improvements, is highly *Culpable*: tho' this gives a sad *Prognostic* both of things and of men: yet when they moreover lend their power to the Carrying on Sinister designs, or when in all their steps of *Publick Action*, they take their measures with regard only to their own *privat profit*, and the first and most firm thought they entertain, is how to strain their Authority and Interest to advance or to secure their particular Designs: but never to Reformation or Improvements in a Nation: this can have nothing else at the bottom, but a powerfull Bondage that they lye under to *Vanity*, *Luxurie* or *Avarice* &c. which leads them to such a horrible Depravavation of their Trust to support these; And what can be at the Fundation of such a *Luxurient* & *Imperative Spirit* of *Vice*, but a Spirit of blackest and Rankest *Atheism*, as consisting of an utter *Extirpation* of all *impression* of the Soveraign Author and Fountain of all

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Authority, & a total *erazing* of all sense of the first instituter of all *Power*; with a *Perverse Disclaiming* of their a dependent *Commission* & substitution, together also with the Preposterous Inverting that *Vicegerency* and *Stewart-ship* which is commited to them, with all Fidelity and Care to provide for, and preserve to, all under their *Inspection* and charge, the needful and necessary *Supports* of *Life*: all *Power* and *Authority* in men being thus a derivative, and alennerly to this effect: yea, and with all, such men seem to have worn out all apprehension and fear of a severe, but Just Inquisition to be made by the *Common Governour* and Parent of men, how each man has behaved himself in his Respective *province*, *station* and *Trust*; this being nothing else but a necessary consequence of his general interest in and relation to all his Creatures. And all men must necessarly be under these perswasions, who do not apprehend themselves of the uppermost *Sett* of *Beings*, *absolute*, *unaccomptable Beings*, or *Beings* come into the World to *Project*, *Act*, and

prosecute, without any other *Law or Rule*, but their own *Passions*, *Humours* &c. But if it were so, how would this plunge men into endless and desperat *Jarrings* and *Contests*? into what *Rapine*, *Blood* and *Murders*? and what a confused *Chaos*, would mens actions produce, if they were not moderated & regulated by due *Rules* & *Laws*? and were men not perswaded to be made accountable for the breaking the same, and without a common Standart that all may readily acquiesce in, in relation to their mutual *Actions* and *Transactions*, men would as rarely agree, as with a Thousand *Dice* they should be able to cast at one thro' a 1000 *Aces*; and without this, farther, what a mangled and confounded *Schem* in *Theorie* also, would this World make? and no man should be able to give a tolerable account of things *Natural* and *Moral*, of *Actions* or *Operations*, without a Soveraign *Actor* and *Operator* at the head of the Chain of *Causes* and *Effects*.

49. There are a Thousand realities in Nature, *Active* and *Operative Beings*, which

which are not seen nor heard, nor subject to the Bodily senses, which yet are acknowledged by all, because they are obvious to the eys of Reason; such as the Realitys of hidden causes, whose *Being* is ascertained by the *Being* of the Visible Effects, and Palpable Appearances: And its strange, that men admit of particular and partial *Hidden Causes*, but yet are in doubt of a first and universal *Hidden Cause*; for the clearing up their minds a little more about the *First*, would necessary clear them fully in the *Last*; because the necessary lodging the Visible *Phenomena* and *Appearances* in some causes, makes it also requisit to refer these causes into some first Cause, and that by the same Compulsive Argument, *that nothing can cause it self*; and by this Rule likeways, that an infinit Progress of *Causes* & *Effects* is impossible, they must at length then Terminat into some first cause.

50. And if there be a *Produceing First Cause*, as to *Beings*, there must also be *a first Governing Cause*, as to *Actions* and *Motions*: But when the Subject to be Governed is an Arbitrary & free Agent,

that

that may do, or not do, or may do this or do that, there can be no *Government* in this case, but what consists of Commands and Prohibitions, Backed with Rewards and Punishments: And as this requires a most Wise, Just and discerning *Mind*, so it seems all the power a Governour can have over *Free Agents*; where as over *Mechanical* ones, there is an *Absolute* and *Fixt* determination of their motions and Actions.

51. And if there be a most Wise and Just *One*, who has given such *Instructions*, *Rules* and *Laws* to Voluntary Agents, can we suppose he has done it in vain? or can any with Reason think, the Soveraign Governour of men, will part with, or superceed the Exercise of his Royal Prerogative of Just Governing men, by rewarding or punishing them? and that to favour their *extravagancies* and irregularities; both so hatefull to the Fountain of all Righteous Order and Justice; and so hurtful, prejudicial & confounding to themselves, and their neighbours? will he not rather according to the inflexible Laws of

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Righteousness, duly punish their *Contraventions*, especialy when they are Aggravated with grossest violations of special Trust, as when any branches of his own Soveraign Authority is commited to them, and they perversly abuse it: The *Offence* of a *Privat Person* who never directly acknowledged the Princes Authority, nor is specialy entrusted by him, may be thought *venial*, in respect of his, who having accepted a *Commission*, and holds a honourable & profitable *Post* of his Prince, for him to imploy his power against his *Constituent*, and to arm against his Soveraign; such a one must be a grand Traitor, and the most execrable *Rebel*, upon whom the Prince cannot in Justice but be avenged.

52. Without the Terminations of *Beings*, *Actions* and *Operations*, in a *Deity* or a First cause, tho' its impossible to make sense of the Natural, Moral or Political *Phenomina* or appearances, of their beautiful and direct *order*, *Measure* and *Regularity*, without ascribing all to an equivalent, most wise and intelligent Mind: and albeit this be plain and firm

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in it self, yet its only obvious to these who have their Mind indued with *Intelligence* and *Sapience*: but how few take pains to Cultivat & clear up these *Faculties*, but rather to darken or *efface* them. If there be no *First* Cause of *Beings*, no Soveraign Ruler of *Actions* and *Operations*, there is neither *Being*, *Action* nor *operation* yet, for nothing can make or move it self, and then the World and all therein, is meer Illusion and Vision; there is no real truth, no falsehood, no good, no evil, but all things are as men take them, and Consequently there is no *Realities* at all, but all only *entia Rationis*, *Figments* and *Chimera's*; and if there be nothing, or if this World it self, and all therein, shall be as they had never been, it is not worth the while that it should have been, or that it should have had a *Being*: And if men be every moment upon the brink of *Annihilation*, what imports all their Racking *desires* and *cares*? their Cheating *Hopes*, *Pleasures*, and *Attainments* limited to this present smallest minute of time, & point of space: and if all

things

things fall quickly to be as they had never been; what availls it to them to have been, only by a ſhort glance: and it is the ſame every way, as if they had never been: and tho' this reaſoning be as ſolid, as it is aſtoniſhing, it is yet no more amazing than true, that men by Negligence and Inconſideration wander, confounded in theſe dark and diſmal *Precipices*, whereas they might find a clear and comfortable way for them to take, if they would be pleaſed to conſider ſeriouſly, and diligently ponder things: *Experience*, ſhewing every man that this *due* Conſideration is the way to get *Light*, and walk ſurely in ordinary buſineſs; and that the cauſe of their *Errors* and *Trips*, is throw want of it; How can they think that theſe important and *Directive* truthes, will grow up in their Minds ſpontaneouſly without all Culture, or Care? Eſpecialy when they entertain and nurſe all theſe things that will choak and extinguiſh ſuch *Impreſſions* and *Sentiments*.

53. Tho' men have no certainty of a future ſtate, and after reckoning, yet

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they have all the reason in the World to provide for it: For if it befall them, and catch them unprovided, it will be a sad *Disappointment*, where as on the other hand, being provided, and if it befall them not, or that they meet not with it, they shall be sure of no *Remorse*, *Grief* or *Repining*: and Prudence obliges men in *doubtful Cases* to provide for the surest choise, and the safest side: Especially when in doing it, men part with the real *burdens* & *clogs* that load their minds, even in this Life, and hinder their contentment and happiness here: viz. their extraordinary attachments to things *Sensible*, which makes them blind as to things *intellectual*. The *Speculative Atheist* is a wonder of Infatuation and Stupidity, but the *Practical Athiest* is a miracle of *Inconsistency*, *Contradiction* and *Madness*, especially in the circumstances above related, where one part of a mans Practise gives the lye to the other: when a man by virtue of one and the same *commission*, *post* & *Power*, acts & counteracts, and that in one and the same subject, *acknowledges* & *disclaims*

claims with the ſame Breath, and alſo *ad idem* about the ſame individual thing, pretending Power to do things by an office and Stewartſhip, from the Soveraign of all things, granted to a quite contrary purpoſe.

54. And as the Publick Spirit, Eſpecialy in privat perſons, and in times and places withall, where he is moſt needed, ſeems to be of a nature angelicall, as haveing a conſtant diſpoſition and ſtrong Benſill rather to ſerve others than himſelf, like thoſe miniſtring Spirits who ſtill attend the ſervice of others; ſo publick perſons with privat aims, who thereby either ſuffer or bring the publick to diſtreſs and miſery, ſeem of a nature and diſpoſition *diabolical* & of a *Complexion* moſt pernicious, as being *Compaginated*, and made up of the moſt damnable evils; ſuch as *breach* of *truſt* and *treachery* of the deepeſt *dy*, horrible diſſimulation, doubleneſs and hollow heartedneſs, and execrable ſelf Idoliſing, whereby they would *proſtitute* the beſt things to do *homage* to the *Dagon* of *petty* Self, yea and to *luxurious*,

Ambitious, *Avaricious* &c. *Self:* and if it be hatefull to prostitute privat ordinary things to *base* and *sordid* Uses, how much more abominable most it be thus *villanously* to prostitut *publick concerns?* and such as of their own nature and institution are *sacred*, as designed for the *Publick good*, and that not only in respect of the *atrocious Nature* of the action, but also in respect of the great and *universal damnage* and *overflowing* loss, that is apt to follow thereupon? and the more deep running, and in disguise, the draughts of *Sinister Self* Run, and the more Power aud Authority that they are *palliated* and *glossed* with, the more dangerous and Criminal are all their *Juglings*, *Windings* and *Draughts*; and the more splendid their *Character* and *Post* is, the more black is the *Impress* that their Actions give in the *Reverse*; the more Honourable and exalted their *Trust* and *Charge* is, the more intolerable and desperat will the Punishment and *Doom* be: such being not only accountable for the *good* they

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neglect, and for the *hurt* and *evil* they *do* themſelves, but alſo for the ſequel and Conſequences, the influence it has on other Perſons or Nations, and the evills that come of their deeds or neglects, and that over all places and times: and this may be a reaſon for the neceſſity of a general and laſt *Judgement* of the World, and a reaſon why a particular one does not ſuffice; becauſe all the *Guilt* of ſuch men cannot then be laid to their Charge, but only at the laſt day, and after the Conſumation of all things, that the *Scenes* are al wrapt up; for then, and not till then, is their Cup full. And ſhould not this make every one in Authority and Power, when *evills*, *miſeries* and *Dangers* threaten a Nation, earneſtly examin what their ſhare of procurement by action or Commiſſion has been? for *nill* they will they, proportionable to their ſhare of Acceſſion, they muſt partake of *Puniſhment*, and in meaſure they have had hand in the *Calamities*, or that the Evils depend upon their *Poſitive Acts* or *neglect*, they may

may expect *Retaliation* by *Doom*: And such a *Doom* as knows no limits nor bound of *Commensuration*, within the extent of the demerit of the vast *Tract* of Consequences of their *Mischiefs* & long chain of the Influences & Productions of their Crimes, thro' the whole Universe and also to the Worlds end.

55. From all which we may justly conclude, that, as all publick abuses and disorders in a *Nation*, and the tract of miserable Consequences thereof, come from *Impiety* and *Irreligion*, Especialy of these in *Power*, so the best mean of *Uniting*, *Strengthening* and *prospering* a people, is the *bond* and *force* of *Religion*, and he who is truely influenced and kindly warmed with an affection to *Religion*, will quickly joyn hands with the *Christian Religion*, which by reason of its *Elevation*, *Consistency* and *Efficacy*, as it seems most preferable to all others, in it self; So by reason of it's *effects* and *fecundity* this way, it is far superior; And *Religion* ought no more to be vilified; because Pretenders strive

strive to gloss their *base Designs* with the Show of it: than *Gold* and *Precious Stones*, should loose their *Excellency* and *Value*, because of the frequent Counterfeits.

FINIS.

ESSAY, II.

Concerning the true *Publick Spirit*; Its excellency & Effects, Operations and Productions more particularly Illustrated and pressed home, &c.

SOME Indeed, and that not altogether impertinently think, that this World may be very well compared to a *Grand Theater* or *Stage*, where every one *acts* in *disguise*, and plays the *person* and *parts*, very different from what they truely are, and these who act the *highest* and greatest *parts*, re-

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present the Parts most removed from the *reall persons* they are: So that it's hard to know, whither the Original or representation, the *World* or the *Stage*, be most *vanity*, *pageantry* and *show*; so we may readily joyn consort with the Royal Musician, singing, *each man walks in a vain show*: and withall it may be doubted, whither the *Stage* was ordained to teach and instruct the World; or only to ridicule and mock the *World*, yea some have carried the *Simile* so far, and so low, that they compared the actions of men, to the *Rary-Show*, caried about the streets, in which all the company of prety images dance their *representations* and *actions*, no more *mechanically*, *necessarly* and *regularly* to the *Savoyard's Key* and *interest*, then some great *Savoyard* can make as many men do.

2. And indeed when this World is nearly viewed, it's no wonder many think that the *penetration* & *discerning* of *thinking men*, is rather their unhappiness, than their *advantage*; because it only serves like the *second sight*, to give them

too sensible and troublesome *impressions* of anxiety, and vexation, for the *evils* they see, and cannot amend, which unthinking men are not at all concerned with: and thus the Fool seems to have Prehemenance over the wise man, and he who wishes and endeavours the amendment of things, finds mens minds so drencht in *Prejudices*, *Errors* and *Delusions*, and so interested in *Abuses* and *Disorders*, that they are not only unfit to receave the immediat Impressions of real *Goodness*, *Honesty* and *Vertue*; but even they are uncapable of the ways and means, the advice or counsel leading thereto; and whosoever shall attempt their Liberation from *Mistakes* and Prejudices in relation to their Preparation for the introducing of *Improvements*, or a *Reformation*, or shall declaim against *Vulgar Errors* and *Delusions* in reference to the Correcting of *Disorders* or *Abuses*, will not only lose his Labour, but will be in hazard to be run down by a grievious and dangerous Shock, from such an encounter: and these considerations has made some men lurk,

and

and others leave these places, where they apprehend evils to be most *Epidemical* and *Uncureable*: So this may discourage all atempts, especally of privat or single Persons, and their medling this way.

3. Indeed to stand in the *Shock*, and to encounter the violent *Stream* of *Custom*, and mens *Inclinations* and *Humours*, baited with *Partial Interest*, may seem dangerous; to no purpose and ineffectual: But to fall upon them, as it were in the *Reer*; and to trace these hidden *Sources* and *Springs*, that feed these swelling *Torrents* of *Prejudices* and *Mistakes*, and to give them a diversion, seems neither Impracticable nor Imprudent, especialy, when let alone, these are like to threaten the overflowing of a Nation.

4. It's Certain that the Irregularity and Pravity of mens Actions depends upon the *Darkness* and *Deviation* of their *Minds*, which makes all their *Prejudices*, *Delusions* and *mistaken Interests*, which bring furth all their *Sinistruous* actions: So that the way to mend things, seems to be, by bringing mens *Radical*

Opinions and *Conceits*, to the *Touch-Stone* of serious Consideration, by their vieuing & Surveying them on all sides, and with all, its necessary to gain and Cully the Affections, which oftentimes keep the Key of the Judgement; and that by displaying virtue, in its true natural Lustre, with its *amiable Charming* and allective effects; and by *unmasking* of *Vice*, and shewing its native *Deformitie* and *Uglinesse*, with its dismal consequences, notwithstanding of all its borrowed and deluding glister: And this seems to have been weakly aimed at in the former Essay.

5. A Luxuriant and Fruitful Soil, uncultivated, produces little profitable *Increase*; but puts it self furth, in noxious *Weeds* and *Shurbs*: So the *minds* of men, however Habile and Capable, without the Culture of *Serious Consideration*, and sound *Reasoning*, are like to produce no good Fruits.

6. To strike mens *Errors* and *Delusions* at the Root, which is their inconsideration, by gaining them to weigh and expend matters duly and which is best

done, by clearely laying matters in due method and order, before them, may produce more, than is apprehended; & consequently, I presume, an attempt, and after the due way and manner, may be more successful than is commonly believed, at least it may exoner him who makes it.

7. And because many look upon *Improvements* as *Impracticable*, in any *Nation* that has been signal both in frequent *attempts*, and in as frequent miscariages therein; it may be so still, unless men be pleased to look back first on the true Causes of such disapointments, and by these found, it will clearly appear that in relation to *Improvements* they must necessarly begin with, and carry on a pace, Reformation of *abuses* and *disorders*: for *Improvements* will be loth to *Thrive*, where *Publick* Justice and *Order* is not duly Cultivated.

8. Whatsoever People then, being in *Egypt*, design for the *Canaan* of *Improvements*, must, in my humble Opinion, resolve to Travel through the *Wilderness* of Reformation of *Abuses* and

and *Disorders:* some abuses have crept in at their full stature and grouth and *Barefaced*, these as palpably noxious and Conspicuous may perhaps be easily removed, but others have been found to be abuses, only by time, and the *rooting*, *Strength* and *Dominion* they have piece and piece of their own Nature arrived at, by their Clandestin and clancular working, and the masks and pretentions they are covered with, and by their other Circumstances that have made them more grievous, these because Familiar, and Riveted in *Custom* and privat *Interest*, and perhaps also accessories to the Constitution or Exercise of some Government, may take an hard Pull to remove them: But where ever *Serious* and *Impartial Consideration* shall take place, then shall all thinking men be convinced, that as no time can *prescrive* them, nor *privat Interest* secure them, so no *Privilege* of *Constitution*, can ever support them, when ever they appear *Publickly Hurtful* & *Grievous*; and then there is either a Surrender to be made of these, in behalf of *Common*

Justice

Justice; or a *Seizure* of them, from these who are unwilling to part with them: then, and not till then, shall that Nation have Vigorous and Successful *Improvements*.

9. *Publick Justice* in a Land, is like the benign temper of the *Air* to natural *Productions*; for let the *Soil* and *Culture* be never so good; the nipping Frost, and burning heats, will blast the Husband mans expectation: even so will publick *Disorders*, *abuses* and *grievances* blast all the success of *improvements*, tho' never so well *projected*, *calculated* or *prosecuted*.

10. It's true; the Case is near to desperat, when publick vice is *rampant*, and *triumphant*; and *blasoned* with *authority*, and *illustrious* with *Power*; & *publick virtue creeps* and is *couchant*, is *dashed* and *baffled*; but what is it not a shame? that the Children of *darknes* should be wiser or bolder in their generation, than the Children of *Light*? that the men of *Belial*, should insult and vapor? and the true *Israelits*, never dare so much as peep? for all the black

black prospect matters seem to give in some places or Cases, there may be a great many there, who have never yet bowed their Knee to *Baal*, there may be yet a spark among the ashes, that may be blowen up into a Flame: behold how great a mass of matter a little spark may kindle; but then the matter must be disposed, I know no better way to dispose it, and to Inflame others, than by every mans blowing up the spark in himself, which may make it come to such a Conflagration, that brust out, and go thorow it must.

11. It may be thought that Honesty, and Sense, yea and Honour too, has left that land, that being in distress, does not more nearly consider things; and it's a bad Presage when impendent *miseries*, *dangers* and *Calamities* do stupifie and deaden men's minds and blast the fecundity of their Wits, and all their faculties: for with wise men, imminent Calamities rather sharpen their Spirits to seek out artificial remedies: and necessity & *impendent Miseries* give them such strange *Impulses* to all virtuous in-

endeavours for Relief, as may break through whatſomever *impediments*: And ſometimes Providence ſends a Concours and Confluence of Calamities upon a Land, to rouſe them out of their *ſtupidity*, and to prompt and move them to that which an indifferent and tolerable State and Condition, would never have moved them to; and may they not in ſuch a caſe reaſon with the Lepers of *Samaria*? if they *ſtay here they ſhall ſurely dye*, and periſh in the Common Calamity, but if they *go out to the Camp*, they may peradventure Live.

12. Granting then all the *ſtruggle* and *Conflict*, yea and *difficulty*, *uncertainty* and *danger*, that may attend the deſign of *Improvement* and *Reformation* in a Land; it ought no ways to diſcourage the magnanimous *PublickSpirit*, to make the attempt, nor damp him with *Puſillanimity* and *Cowardice*, and to flee from, and to leave his Countrey in diſtreſs; conſidering the *Gallantry* of the *attempt*, & *Prize* ſet before him, and weighing

the advantage, yea and neceſſity of his eſſaying; no *danger* nor *difficulty*, ought to *diſſwade* him.

13. If the Happineſs and well being of a People be the only end and uſe of *Government*, and of *Publick Adminiſtration*; Then every *Conſtitution* ought to be ſo *Moulded* and *Reformed*, as may moſt eaſily and effectualy attain that *end*. And in regard that the only ſure mean to attain that end, lyes on ſuch a *firm*, and cloſe *Conſtitution* of *Government* as may inforce and Compel to all *Diligence* and *Fidelity*, in the *exerciſe* and management: It ſeems then both eaſie where to lodge, and plain how to Cure, all theſe *Publick Diſorders*, *abuſes* and *Grievances* that are *Regnant* among any People: For they ſeem not to flow ſo much from the fault of *Perſons*, as from the fault of *things*; what is it but a looſe *improper* and *unfit Conſtitution*, that in ſome places and times, makes all the viſible effects of *Authority* and *Power*, to be only a continual tract and *Set* of privat and *Siniſter* deſigns: And which

which causes the *Administration* always to center and *gravitat self-ward*: is it not from this natural reason, that *self* does allways prove a *byas* to *Power*, without some *Counter-Ballance* be put thereto; and that all Power, like *weight*, unless it be well *Arched*, and sustained with a good *Constitution*, will gravitat like *Weight*, and tend to the *Center* of *Self*; and that seems only a good *Constitution*, where *privat* and selfish *designs* in the Administration, are effectually precluded, by suitable and sufficient *Checks* and *Restraints*.

14. And as such *coercive Checks*, are more needful in some times, than in others, so they seem more requisit in some kinds or circumstances of *Constitution* than in others, and are not impossible to be excogitated in any state or condition thereof; due *Rewards* and *Punishments* and rightly dispenced, being able to do every thing, in a *Government*; for the Laws may be so contrived, that for the most part they will force their own Execution, and gain their ends:

the reason then, why the Laws in some places are useless because never execute, seems never to be the fault of any thing else, but either of the Law it self, or of the general frame of the *Constitution*; Yea its highly presumable, that a constitution, and Laws thus contrived and proportioned, and always kept in due *trim* and *order*, will as necessarly and constantly attain the end, as any *Engine* or *Machine* will do its work.

15. There seems two difficulties to stand in the way of the Introduction of such a frame and contrivance; of such *Checks* and *Restraints*, in the publick *Administration* and *exercise*: the first, is that they must be introduced by the governours *themselves*, and they will never consent to such things, that may hamper or gall themselves, or retrinch their Liberty and Freedom: Especially since 2*ly*. Such Laws may sometimes overwhelm the Innocent Administrators, by the violence and faction of *Parties*. For the first, its an argument taken from the *Topick* of *Self*, and will have little weight with all *Honest*, *Faithful* and *think-*

thinking Adminiſtrators, and they are under no Reſtraint from doing good, and Honeſt men will not care how many Bonds, checks and bars, ly on them to keep them from doing Evil; and it ſeems only want of ſufficient *Honeſty* and *Fidelity*, that keeps back from puſhing ſuch an Expedient; eſpecially in places and times where its much needed.

16. And for the 2*d*. ſince there is no Perfection in Humane contrivances; that is to be choſen, which is leaſt lyable to *Defects*, and hath the feweſt *Grievances*; and it ſeems requiſit to be conſidered, whither it be of leſs moment, that the adminiſtrators of *publick* affairs, ſhould now and then be ſubject to Inconveniences and Proſecutions, than that the whole people ſhould be always ſubject too, and oftimes actually under them: But if, as ſome think, there can be a Schem of a Conſtitution ſhown, that would in the event effectually ſecure both, then the *difficulty* doth evaniſh.

17. And indeed, whoſoever ſhall fully conſider this matter, and the difference

rence in the thriving of Nations, will find that its the *Constitution* & Administration alone, that makes the difference among People, as to Civil and Military affairs, Forraign Commerce and Domestick and Maritime Improvements, and that it is the putting due *Checks*, upon *privat* and *Sinister Designs*, that makes *publick* ones to prosper.

18. I think it may be plain to any considering person, that there is no perfection any Nation has arrived at, but another may come at the like, were they put under due Management and Conduct, abateing the Advantages of Situation and Climat, in which few have their Advantages that are not compensed by others in some things the first want: For it seems to be Industry more than the natural Product, that doeth enrich any Land; nether seems there almost any Nation in the World alltogether barren of natural Product by Sea or Land, for Industry and Improvements, were they, like other Nations, put in the right road and method leading thereto.

And

19. And since its plain, that in what ever Countrie the men are *Souldiers*, nothing inferiour to these of any Nation, and that the perfection of *Military* business, depends upon the exactness of the Order, Discipline and Conduct; like other *Societies:* I hope all thinking men may be easily convinced, that the men of that Country, whose Country men are good Souldiers, being put under the like *Discipline*, *Methods* and *Conduct*, that other Nations are, in reference to their other *Improvements*, that they may equal them, in these also: Yea I think by reason of some advantages that the men in some Countries, have over others, in relation to such undertakings, they may come to excell them; as these, who are remarkable for the *Hardiness* of their *Temper*, and induring *Fatigue*, and their *Parsimonious* way of *Living* and *easy* Dyet, their *Artificial* and *docil Genius* and the multitudes of Idle People amongst them.

20. And so I think there is no reason for any thinking People to be discouraged, in the undertaking what others have with

with Succeſs attempted before them, ſince all the difficulties they have to ſurmount, are only among themſelves, and wholy in their own power to remove, the greateſt of which are *Inconſideration*, *Prejudices* and *Miſtakes*.

21. Moſt neceſſary then it is, in every ſuch place, that all honeſt Countrymen ſhould concur together, and ſound the Alarm, to rouze the *Careleſs* and *inconſiderat*, and *Inſpire* them with a *true publick Spirit*, and to fright the *inordinat ſelf-ſeeker*, out of his *beloved under-hand Trade*, and to ſend the *Hue* and *Cry* after that monſtrous *Impoſture*, *privat* and *Siniſter Deſign*, under the *Publick mask*; theſe being the *Mildews* that do blaſt, and the *Caterpillars* that do eat up, all the fair appearances of a *Crop* in a Land; and theſe being the Foxes and Wolves that devour and feed upon, the young Brood of true *Improvements*, and *Honeſt deſigns* in a *Nation*.

22. If to prompt all thinking men to this preparatory work, there were offered to be delineated the Charming Proſpect, that might be given of the happy

happy ſtate ſuch a Nation may be advanced to, by the cloſs following theſe Improvements, it is capable of, and the agreeable Schem of the methods leading thereto, ſome might perhaps rather think, that, in a *Poetical ſtrain*, there were drawn an *Utopian Landskip*, of a *new Atlantis*, or of the *Heſperidies* or *Fortunat Iſlands*, than to think, that any poor and diſtreſſed Nation, ſhould be capable of ſuch a ſtrange *Metamorphoſis*, as (from that ſtate and under a combination alſo of diſmal Circumſtances, threatning it with Miſery) it ſhould become a deſirable Land, a Land abounding with all eaſements and accommodations of life, with Plenty at home and ſecurity from abroad.

23. But upon more near viewing ſuch a *proſpect*, and Conſidering the *Schem*, it might perhaps be found, not ſo much a meer *Speculation*, or the *Flouriſhing* draught, of a too warm and *Luxuriant Fancie*, as the reſult of the juſt and dextrous *Hits*, on the nature of things, and of due reaches into the innermoſt Receſſes of their Capacity

fully and clearly discovering, the excellent *formes* which rude matter, may be made to put on, when its cultivated and plyed by the ingenious application and due management of Art; and then I hope, all persons of *Application*, *Penetration* and *Judgement*, would think, tho' it be surprising in the *Scheme*, Yet there is nothing of impracticability therein, nothing which due Art and industry, could not accomplish, to hinder all honest men, to be inflamed with a vehement Desire and fervent Indeavours, at any rate to prosecute it.

24. For as the *Mind* in it's Operation and Power, knows no bounds in the advance towards Perfection of its Faculties, and by exercise and application it may still be brought to a capacity to penetrat farther into the Knowledge of the Nature, Order and Use of things, for humane Utility and Advantage; so rude *matter*, when the *Mind* makes it the object, will be found to be an inexhaustable *Abyss* of objective Capacity and Perfection, and may be still advanced, moulded and framed, further and further.

And

25. And so the *Sprighty publick Genius*, who has publick *Reformation* and *improvement* for his end, cannot only by a noble *mechanism*, mould and frame rude matter to a great Perfection; but by a curious *Chimistry*, he can easily draw out of course *mater*, the hidden *treasures* that were never thought to have been lockt up therein; yea he can extract an *useful Spirit*, and rich *quintessence*, from every mean and contemptible thing: both which are seen in *Manufactories* and other Mechanick Arts, and works of Industry.

26. And not only dead *matter*, and the whole subject of *Natural* and *mehanical improvement*, is the object of his operation, by bringing them to perfection, plentifully to extract *Gold* out of them, but even these animated Bodies called Men, which considered in a rude and uncultivated state, differ little from rude and unwrought matter, untill they be put under the due *rules*, *order* and *methods* of *Society*, for exercising usefull *Operations*; yea men, tho' under civil *Government*, if without Discipline,

and Culture, in relation to *Social* and *publick projects* of *Improvement*, they seem to resemble wild Deserts, and may by *Art*, be as much Improven as these.

27. And tho' Civil *Government* was introduced for the Maintainance of *Justice* and *Peace*, these cannot be easily secured, where *Penury* is, so the methods to introduce *Improvements* in a Nation, as being the only means of Plenty, are not only the necessary accessories for supporting the *civil Government*, and *facilitating* the due exercise thereof; But also they serve immediatly for the makeing easie of all privat acquisitions, and for the preservation & security of every mans person and property; yea and with-all they bring as great an alteration on a Nation, as when civil Government comes in the place of *Anarchy*, or want of all Government.

28. And as the Plague and Bane of all Society, for Improvements is, their negligent and loose *constitution* and *conduct*, so their *Life*, *Vigor* and *Energie*, lyes in the due *model*, *Regulation* and *Discipline*; as is eminently conspicuous in the in-

instance of an Army under due *order*, *conduct* and *Government*; in the advance and Improvement whereof, lyes alone, as I humbly conceave, the perfection that the Art of Warr is now arrived at, and thereupon also seems to depend all the great feats of Arms, especialy that of saving the efusion of Blood, tho' at the expence of Treasure: and great indeed the exploits may be called, considering what the greatest Multitudes in rable, are only capable of.

29. And as in the military Business there is no accomplishment of military designs without the exactness and severity of the Military discipline, and that both the Souldier that shall be found asleep at his *post* and he that deserts his station, especialy to go a-pillaging, and for privat Boty, is punisht with the outmost severity; so there seems to be no Prosecution of general & social projects, without the severest Checks, as well upon the *supine* and *negligent*, as upon these who deserting the exercise of their charge, with the Credit and Strength of their Authority and Trust, go in *Quest* only after privat Profit.

The

30. The Study of *Architecture* is indeed a gentile & a profitable ſtudy, but the *Architecture* of a Nation is far more noble; The common *Architect* ſtudies to make houſes beautiful and commodious, but the publick *Genius* knows how to make a Nation ſo; which is as preferable, as a whole Nation is to privat houſes; And is it time for men to dwell in ceiled houſes and the houſe of the Publick to ly deſolate? far leſs to erect ſtately Houſes upon the coſt & *Damage* of the Publick.

31. To ſee men affect ſuch Politeneſs in the *Building*, *Contriving* and *Adorning* their houſes when the publick is in diſorder, and *neglected*; And to imitate other Polite Nations, ſo much in privat Culture, and ſo little in their publick Management; To ſee with what an Air of applauſe Eſteem, and Admiration, men ſpeak of other mens affectation & vanity in their privat Edifices, and Extoll tne Pomp and Grandeur thereof; yet never offer at any reflection about the deſolate ſtate of a Nation; What is this, where it is ſo, but to delight in, & ap-

applaud vice, and to make it the *Topick* of praiſe and commendation; And to evince that privat Deſign has eaten out all ſenſe and impreſſion of puplick virtue; and that not only the practiſe therof, but alſo the *Idea* is like to be worn out, where it is ſo.

32. Other men, void of all care for the Publick, ſtudy only to improve their privat Eſtates and to enrich their Families, and that oftentimes with the depredation of their Neighbours, or out of the lamentable wreck of other Mens Fortuns; and even often upon the direct expence and coſt, yea and ſometimes ruin of the publick. But the publick *Genius* ſtudies to raiſe a whole Nation, & every particular man's Eſtate therein, without all Injuſtice or extortion; yea, and withal he knows to ſecure & guard every mans privat acquiſition; for as the *ſecurity*, *ſafety* and *ſtrength* of the Publick is the only Guerdion of all *privat rights* and *Privileges*; So theſe who would eſtabliſh their Eſtates and Poſſeſſions, with the neglect of the *Publick*, ſeem very much in their Prudentials, to reſemble

the

the passenger who was fitting and adorning his *Cabine*, when the Ship was in danger to be wreckt, or like that Bird who builds a Curious Nest upon the Tree, that is ready to be cut down.

33. And further, the *Publick Spirit* is not wanting, upon all occasions, to sustain and plead the Cause, and consult the interest of the Publick, against all encroachments made upon its *right*, and concerns, by negligence or privat Designs; and so he acts the honourable part of an Advocat for the Publick, and that also *gratis*, while other Advocats deall only in petty privat cases, and oftimes serve only to foment the *Piques* & *Animosities* of their Clients, to make them wast on their *Resentments*, their time, their money, and their Spirits, which might be far better imployed in the following publick Improvements, And their Labour, at the best, brings no accession to the publick Stock; Yea the Publick Spirit seems to consult directly, the very interest and advantage of the Lawyers themselves, for the more Improvements there are in a Nation, there is still the more

more business and money, and the more business, there is still the more Law-suits and the more liberal allowance for them; & further, the Publick Spirit knows not only how to sustain the Publick Rights against these intestine incroachments and invasions by *selfish* and *sinister* private design, and the miserable traine of evils depending on them; but also he will not neglect to declaime against the insults of forraign enemies, and bring unanswerable arguments from the Laws of Common Equity and Justice, to prove an independent Nations undoubted Right, and Freedome to prosecute all virtuous designs, capable to advance their ease & accommodation at home, and their credit and security from abroad: and that all attempts in Opposition thereto made by their Neighbours, open or under hand, are acts of highest Injustice, Injury and oppression.

34. For as the *publick Spirit*, makes his excursions, far beyond the *petty Sphere* of *Self*: And is also no way confined to the little *Circle* of *Particulars*, and single *Interests* in a *Nation*, to advance

their *projects*, in prejudice of greater and more common *concerns*; So *he* is not bounded and fixed to the greater *Orb* of the *Interest* of any one *Nation* to carry on their designs, to the damnage of others: But he expatiats thorow, the *largest* and *vastest primum Mobile*, of *common* and *universall justice*; The sole *directive*, the *Square* and *Rule* of the *motions* and *actions*, especially, *relative* and *extinsick*, of all *Nations*; and he studies the *means* and *measures*, to keep them from all *Jarring* and *Interfereing*; and of preserving the *ballance* even among them, for their mutual *security* and *flourishing*.

35. It being allways obvious, that when any *Nation*, gets too much the upperhand and *ascendent*, and grows too *great*, in *Riches*, *Power*, &c. above their Neighbours, that it brings always along with it, a Tendency and Inclination to *insult* and *domineer*, to invade or *incroach* upon others; There seems then to be no competent *check*, against the injuries of *Neighbour nations*, but to keep it out of their *Power natural*, to do *hurts*: there

there may indeed be, civil Ties, and legal Obligations, effectual to restrain wrongs, betwixt particular persons in a *Nation*; But nothing can secure *Nations*, but physicall restraints and naturall stops, on their neighbours; For such is the domineering and imperious nature of man, that without Laws and a good *constitution* in a *Nation*, there would be nothing, but one man rideing another, and he the next &c. And such confusions and disorders as would make a Hell upon Earth: Even so, without effectual restraints, and just bounds, by the due *ballance* of *Power*, kept among *Nations*, there would be nothing betwixt them, but terrible *Warrs*, and everlasting *Devastations*, and the most lamentable *Bondage* and *Slavery*.

36. And as the unjust and *selfish Actions*, and *designs*, of particular persons in a *Nation*, in prejudice of the *Publick* or common concerns, seems highly *culpable*, and *condemnable*: Much more *crying*, *atrocious* and *Criminal*, are the *unjust* and *Sinister designs*, and *actions* of one *Nation*, in the prejudice of *another*

ther; and the *Guilt* seems aggravated, as far as a whole Nation is considerable beyond *particular persons*, either in respect of a *Nations Power* and *Force*, to *act* and *perpetrat mischief*, far beyond what privat persons can: or in respect of a *Nation* being the *patient* and *recipient* of such *Injuries*, *Invasions* & *incroachments*, is more *grievious* than the sufferings of of single persons.

37. And it seems yet much more *lamentable*, *miserable* and *injurious*, when a Nation is not only born down, and kept at under, *depresst* and *distrest*, both by *Sinister* and *privat Designs* at *home*, and among themselves; But also mightily damnified by the unjust *Encroachment*, or *Insults*, or by *direct stops* and *impediments* of thriveing, put by their *Neighbours*: And it may be affirmed, that there is nothing cōtributs more to invite the forreign *Insults*, and *Invasions* of neighbour *Nations*, or encourages them to put *lets* to the *prosperity of a nation*, than when a People appear broken, & shattered, by the driveing of *privat*, & *unjust Designs* among themselves.

But

38. But the *Case*, seems yet to receive a farther degree of aggravation of *misery*, of guilt and of crime, when two *nations* happen to fall under one common Head, Governour, and Ruler, and when by reason of their readier *Access*, and more immediat *Impression* on the common *Head*, *one* of them by, exhausting or interrupting the *vital*, and *nutritious* Spirits, *Influences* and otherways *draining* it, shall by mightily overtopping the other *Nation*, in *Riches*, Power, *&c.* be put in the condition to *slight* and *baffle*, *insult* and *injure* that other *Nation*: yea people seem to suffer considerably, and to be in untolerable *circumstances*, when they are brought to a condition or under a conjunction that exposes them to be worse dealt with, or less done for them than they were used to, or might have justly demanded, or expected, if without that *conjunction*: and that they had kept their own proper *Head*, and *Governour*, in the full, and vigorous Exercise of his *Power*, in relation to their *Preservation* and *Prosperity*, without his haveing any other

other *relative Considerations*, and *diverting Ties*, whereby the due *ballance* betwixt them, and that other *Nation*, may be altered and *diminished*; and consequently the naturall *restraints*, of their being *insulted* by that *Nation*, removed.

38. As its clear that the neglect of, or superceeding the due and *immediat* conduct and administration of the affairs and concerns of a *Nation* alone, uses to let in such *confusions*, *disorders*, privat and Sinister Designs, and as doe Usher in the *Sequel* of the outmost *Miseries*, and *Male-heurs*, that can befall a *People*: Much more if the administration be *checked*, *clogged*, *interrupted* & *diverted* by a separat and more *eligible* & *plausible interest* that ether has, or is in hazard to get the *Ascendent* & *Start* of *theirs*.

39. But most of all *Lamentable* and *miserable* it is, for an independent *People*, if there are also immediat *lets* and *insuperable barrs*, put in the way of their *prosperity* and *thriveing*, by the *influences* of other *interests*, on the *fountain* and *spring* of their *political Actions* and

and *designs*. And as this seems a mightily *perplexed case*, so wherever any *Instance* thereof falls out, it may be difficult hindering its comeing to such a *dangerous hight*, (especially if attended with abundance of other *circumstances*, concurring thereto) as may *precipitat* either or both, into confusions *&c.* Which may bring both in hazard to become a prey to their common Enemys, who may watch, and catch such an *opportunity*, and which nothing can prevent, but the seasonable falling upon proper *expedients*, to cultivat a better understanding, and *closer amity*, and that by such a Coalition, and near Conjunction as is sutable to the *Laws* of *Justice*, *equity* and *Reason* and may quite abolish the *vestiges*, and *blurs* of their former *maligne aspect*, and unhappy *circumstances*, and secure from all *Interfereing*, either *active* or *passive*; and all *clashing* of *interests* either *positive*, or by *privation* or *deprivation*, in time coming; by which both will not only be *prospe-rous*, *safe* and *secure* at home; But may be more absolute *Umpires*, and give further

ther checks and *Laws*, to their Neighbours abroad, than they ever could have done before, or without such due and kindly conjunction. *Vis unita fortior.*

40 And as this seems the most *difficult, intricat* and *involved case* that can be betwixt *Nation* and *Nation*; So it will take the greatest measure, and most strenuous efforts, of the true Publick Spirit, justly to resolve and rightly to extricate it; and in this case tho' the only proper expedient, may be thought an intire Union of these two Nations, especially if when under one King, they also lye contiguous, be of the same Language, Religion, and manners: yet even in that *Case*, the Circumstances, of *one* or *both Nations*, may be such, and the *difficulties* to *concert* a *just* and *commodious entire union* betwixt the *two*, so great; that it will seem to the judicious next to *impracticable*; Yea and so uncertain in the *Prospect* and *event*, that it may looke like, the makeing a dangerous *experiment* upon a *Nation*; Which all *Nations* should mainly be aware of: Especially

those who have *gotten on the fingers ends*, with some shreud *Mountibanck-tricks* played them already.

41. For considering, that by such an Union, the lesser *Nation* behoved to go in to the *Laws* and *constitutions* of the *Greater*, what a jumble would this make, in the private *properties* and rights of the lesser *Nation*, bottomed on their *former Laws*; And what an *Embarras* in the Suits and *decisions*, according to their former Statutes and *Practicks*, which must, both, be supposed much different from these, by which *right*, *property* and *process* is to be regulated under the intended and desired *Union*: It deserves likeways to be considered, if the two *Nations* to be *united*, be upon an equall foot of *Advancement* and thriving, or if one of them, has gotten farr the *start* of the *other*, in all kind of *Improvement* and *Culture*: If it be so, it is to be adverted, that the New Laws made after the *Union*, will always hold *proportion* and *respect* to the *greatest* & most considerable part of the *Body United*, but will no ways quadrat to the *in-*

tereſt and *ſtate* of the Leſſer, and weaker part thereof: and theſe *Laws* will be of as much purpoſe to it, as the cloathing and food of a *Man*, will be warming, and nouriſhing to a Child. And withall the Party, in the *legislative Capacity*, that will be nearly concerned for the *leſſer* and *more* in conſiderable part, will be ſo weak and ſo ſmall, that little regard will be had to the ſtate and condition of the *new implanted member* and *branch*, to adapt *proper* and *particular nouriſhment* and *Culture* to it. And further, what ever ſuitable *meaſures*, the *weaker* and *leſſer nation* has before, and of themſelves, taken, for their *proper Thriveing*, An intire *Union* would quickly terminat all, and vacate the Progreſs of the *induſtriall Improvements*, deſigned to *Cultivat* that corner: And its to be feared withall, that in the progreſs thereof, it would carry away, from the remoter places, into the Center of the *Government*, more *money* and *People* than ever went off before, and that with as little regreſſe as formerly; And moreover

if the weaker *nation*, intended a *reserve* from the *Union*, and to keep any thing *separate* and *unmingled* in the bargain, (though even a matter of *Religion*,) it might be expected, only to be *precarious*, without due Protection or *support*, from the *legislative power*, if it did not sometime undergo, an actual *violation*: for what cannot the *supreme* Power of a *Nation* among themselves do? If the *dissolution* of the *union* be thought a *competent Remedy* for a *breach*, it may be feared, this would leave them both, in a much worse *understanding* & *Circumstances*, than the Union found them. Thus much in the General; but if there were Particulars to be treated of, there might perhaps be much more said to this purpose.

42. Yet what a pity seems it, to leave this as a *desperat Case*, and without any *Remedy*, but that weaker *nations* setting up a *King* of their *own*, as they had before the *Conjunction* of the two *Goverments* in one *Head*, which may be both *difficult* and *unsafe*, and a *Remedy* worse than the Disease: It seems more eligible

to ſeek over all, for ſome proper *expedient*, that may bring all the advantages, that can be hoped from an intire *union*, and alſo without the *difficulties* & *inequalities* in the concerting, and the uncertainty and hazard in the *event*: And any thing looking this way, being found, it deſerves not to be concealed, to the effect that it may be *canvaſſed* and *ſcanned*, by all the *Judicious*, by all the *Ingenious* and *candid lovers* of *univerſal Juſtice* and *right* among Nations. Its therefore humbly propoſed, whither or not in this caſe a ſtrict and cloſe *confederacy*, allyance and league, betwixt ſuch two Nations, might be ſtruck; and under ſuch conditions, and to ſuch ends conceived, As would be equivalent to the Benefit, that may be expected to ariſe from a difficult and dubious entire *Union*, without the Hazard of any Perplexities in the concerting, and of inequalities and grievances in the *Sequel*.

43. And as the terms of ſuch a Confederacy may be very eaſy & obvious to all rightly diſpoſed minds, ſo it might be

ſo

ſo concerted, as would rather enlarge than *retrinch*, the proper *freedom*, *ability* and *Capacity* of each of the *two Nations*, towards the *cultivating* the due *methods* and *meaſures proportionable* to each of their *conditions* and *circumſtances*, for carrying on the *Improvements* and *Meliorations* competent to both; eſpecialy by having due regard and particular reſpect in the *Compact*, to the procurement of a Rectification of ſuch things in either, as may hinder their reſpective *Proſperity* and *Advancement*, either in their *joint*, or *ſeparat* & *ſingle capacity*.

44. And ſince the *advantage* of the *Improvements* of an *uncultivated People* thus *aſſociated*, would redound likeways to the profit of the other *Nation*, which by having the common Governour ſtill at their Helm, has reached almoſt the *top* of *Advancement* and *Improvement*, yea, and in a manner at the others Coſt: There ſeems then, no loſs to them, to *exchange* ſome of their *Priviledges*, to the *advancement* and *Melioration* of a *Nation*, that, beſides a great many *idle hands* and *docile heads*, has much *ſubject matter*

ter of *Improvement* and *Culture*, when there may be *Recompence* and *Return*, besides several other things, by the product of their Labour, for a considerable support and share in the *Common* and *Publick Taxes* and *Impositions*: Considering also; that much of the occasion or cause of the *weaker Nations Lowness* and *Damage*, is of, and among themselves; it seems then *Justice* as well as *Prudence*, as has been allready touched, to assist and repair a *Nation* thus damnified and depreſt.

45. And whatever *stronger Nation* has gotten a *weaker* into such a *trap*, as the *Monopoly* of the *Common head* &c. And refuses, or unseasonably delays *Justice*, or a Competent reparation of the *loss*, and *Recompence* & *Redress* of the *Damage*, by such ways as are in their power: If they themselves come to feel some secret *blastings* of their own *projects* and *Counsels*, some *unaccountable moths* breed in their *Bowells* and *corruptions* in their *Vitals*, a *prodigious reigning Spirit* of *publick devouring self*, predominant, with

a notorious *Nation-renting* Torrent of *divisions* also among themselves; Yea and at such a time, when such things are most *unseasonable* and *dangerous*; they may, *I* think, without any rash strech be put to reflect, whither or not, all may in some measure, be attributed to an *Invisible hand* smitting them, for the *little Compassion* and *Charitie*, and less *Justice*; in having, more ways than one, Influenced and given the occasion to the like *abuses*, *distresses* and *miseries National*, among others, whom they were Concerned by all the Laws of *Prudence*, *Charity* and *Justice*, in another manner to have noticed, and far otherways to have treated. Yea, and if withal such things fall out, in a time when their other *dangers* may be great, have they not all the reason in the World to *Improve* every *way* and *mean*, also to obtain *Heavens favour* on their *designs*; and especialy by their *Cultivating Justice* in its greatest *perfection*, toward all, both within and without, both among themselves and with others.

And

45. And as the abovementioned ſtrict *Confederacy* and *Intimate Allyance*, would have moſt profitable and delectable *effects*, in each *Nation* a part, ſo it would *Create* and *preſerve*, an *everlaſting* good *underſtanding* and *Cordial Amity*, a perfect *Harmony* and *Concord*, betwixt both *Nations*, and amongſt all perſons in both, whereby they would work to others hands, in the Vigorous and mutual carrying on all the *Improvements* poſſible in both, and no *Rank* or *degree* in either, no *Ordinance* or *Statute*, no *Court* or *Judicatory*, no *Right* or *Privilege*, would ſuffer any *Damage* or *embarras*, nor even any *alteration*, but to the better, & for the true Intereſt of the whole People, the attaining and ſecuring the true *Publick good*, both to the preſent and all ſucceeding Generations; which indeed ſeems the only way to make both the *Governments* and the *People* of theſe *Nations*, ſecure at home, and *Formidable* abroad.

46. If the *Reaſons* & *Arguments* with the means and *methods*, that may hereafter be at large given for this *Speculation*

tion, may seem *harsh*, and not go well down, with many *privat narrow* and *pievish Spirits*, these who make their mercat of the *abuses*, disorders and miseries flowing from the disproportioned irregular, disjoynted *Relation* and *Conjunction* of *Nations*; such having sick *minds*, have need of *Physick*, there may perhaps then be a *potion* and *Dose* prepared for them, which if they be pleased to sup off cleanly, and *digest* perfectly, may come to bring them to a *sounder mind* and *better Temper*: and this leads to another Considerable *Capacity* that the *Publick Spirit* is qualified to act in: and that is, a *Physitian* to the publick.

47. And as the *Publick Spirit*, seems capable to act also in another considerable *capacity*, for the Good of a *Nation*, and may be considered also as a *Physician*, to discover and to cure the Maladies & Distempers of the *Publick*; So he may be counted the Physician of the far greater value. Other Physicians are able to cure only a few, but he, aims at the cure of a whole *Nation*, and that not only *freely*

and *gratis*, but also, not without hazard, and danger to himself, and his own privat *Interest*: and seing some *Physicians* may penetrat into the *Nature* and the *Cause*, the *diagnostick* and the *prognostick*, & into the *cure* of the diseases of the *Natural Body*, far beyond others; the true *Political Physician*, may do likeways into the *state*, *danger*, and *cure* of the Body *political*, much more than others, which may move him to raise the alarum of danger, that was not apprehended before: to lead to the *use* and *application* of *seasonable* and *effectual remedies*; as it is usual for the *Physicians* of the body *Natural* to do with their *Patients* in this Case: Tho' their *Prognosticks* are very *fallible*, and their *methods* very *uncertain*; yet, the true *political Physicians predictions*, are sure, and his *remedies* and *methods* are most *effectual*, and if rightly used and applyed, almost *infallible*: and nothing can marr his *success*, but the *obstinacy*, and *intractableness* of the *Patient*: which Disease also to overcome, he can do most of any, that being a special part of his

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Province.

48. Tho' even the State Doctors often doubt about the *Nature*, and the *Name* of the *Diseases* in a *Nation*; that, rather argues the *danger*, than forbids the seeking for a *Remedy*, and I hope the true *political Physician*, if he knows not of a *Catholicon* that's effectual in all cases, yet whatever the Distemper be, he can prescribe *methods* very apposit and proper.

49. As the *Health* of the *Body natural* consists in the *ease* and *alacrity* of all the *functions*, and the distemper thereof in the *Disease* and *Inepitude* to, or *Lesion* of, the *actions*; or the *marring*, *stopping* or *preverting* the *operations*; Just so are *Health* and *Diseases*, in the Body politick produced and bred.

50. And as it is with the *Body natural*, so sometimes a *Nation* may be affected with a *Fever*, which may be either *lent* and *lingering*, with *preternatural heats*, *inquietudes*, *Delirium* and *raving*, from the vitious *fermentation* of bad *humors*; But when *maligne* and *virulent*, they excite the more violent & burning

burning Fever, and Commotion of inte-ſtine Broils and Wars; both which re-quire reſpective *Purging* of the morbi-ſick *matter*, and alſo *Bleeding* in conve-nient *Places*, *Meaſures* and *Ways*, with due *Uſe* of *Coolers* and *Quieters*; both theſe being juſt ſo cauſed, and alſo cured, as the *Fever* in the *Body Natural*. Some-times a *Land* may be under the grievous Commotions, *Spaſms* and Convulſions of *Diviſion* and *Faction*, ariſeing from the Irritation of real Grievances, *Male-adminiſtration* and the neglect of *publick affairs*; or from the *acrimonious* corroſive *humors* of *envy*, *emulation* or *diſſaffecti-on* to the eſtabliſhed *Government* and *ad-miniſtration* of a *Nation*. And this is alſo cured by *proper* and *reſpective purges* & *bleedings*, with regard to the *quantity* and *quality* of the *peccant matter*, and the *place* where it lyes, and *tempering* or *allaying* with ſuitable *anodines* and *Quieters*. A Nation may likeways be under a *Lethargy*, *ſtupidity* and *inſenſibi-lity* of their *preſent* or *imminent evils* or *dangers*, and this requires *loud ſhout-ing* in their ears, and pinching them in

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their most sensible and *tender Parts*, with other *rousing* and *exciting means*: When a people is crampt with a *Palsey*, and an indisposition for their due *motions* and *actions*, this comes mainly from the obstruction of the *course* & *influence* of the *Spirits*, from the *Head*: it therefore indicats proper *Cephalicks*, & the clearing of the Passages, betwixt the *head* and the *body*: as some of the former Distempers require also the same, with the purging out the *vitious* and *viscuous* Humours that stop, hinder and divert the *Influences* and *Spirits* from the *head*. Sometimes a *flux* may sadly exhaust a *Nation*, by sending all their *nutricious Juices* and substance the wrong way, as when they are unworthily drained of their *Money* and *Treasure*: and as this resembles a *diarrhea* or *flux* of *humours* in the *Body Natural*, so sometimes the *flux* may be a *Dysentery* and *Bloody* Flux; as when a Land is depopulated by *Famine*, *War* or *Pestilence*, or other *rageing epidemical Diseases*, or when their Men are thrown away on *vain* and *desperate attempts* and *projects*; but in these cases,

all

all that seems competent, is respective *reparation* and *recompence*. And as some *Fluxes* in the *Body Natural* are best cured by *Revulsion* and *Vomiting*, so in the *Body politick*, the like *method* should be followed, by causing some render back what they have corroded off the publick: and tho' the new *Indian* Root *Hypecacoana* be recomended as excellent in this case, yet some Nations will scarce ever again meddle with *Indian Remedies*, because they have sorely *encreased* their *Flux* and *sadly* exhausted *them* both by a *Diarrhea* and *disentery*: But I believe the fault will be found not in the *Remedie*, but in the *Physicians* who administred it. And as in the *Flux Natural*, the *nutriment* takes the course the wrong way, and too much downward, so in the *flux* of the *Body political*, the substance is often carried to the *Lowest* and *basest parts*, to the *meanest* and *underling Offices* & *Charges*, as may be seen when the *Publicans*, *Gabellers* and *tollmen* of a *Nation* or *Community*, prosper best, and become Rich, and with the Languishing and *Decaying* of the *Common-wealth*; and this

always

always has been; and will be, just as its in the Body Natural, where the *Laxity* of the *Bowels* and the *weakness* of the retentive facultie, accompanies or causes the *Flux*: So in the *Body Politick* or other *community*, the *loosness* of the *Constitution*, the *Remissness* and *slackness* of the *Rules* and *Ordinances*, lets all the *nutritious* substance slip away. Sometime a *Nation* falls under a gradual *Consumption* and *decay*, by *idleness* and *sloath* on *the one* hand, and by the excessive *waste* of *Luxury* and *Prodigality* on the other hand &c. Far beyond the means of their *Reparation* and *Recruit*, and this is helped by *Roborating* and *nourishing constitutions*, for their *Reparation* and up-making, and by restraining methods & measures for stopping the immoderat Profusion & *waste*. Sometimes a Nation may be *Hydropick*, by the excessive tumifying of some parts, beyond others, by which they become both useles, and a burthen to the rest; and the tumor may either be accompanied with, or wholy be a Sympany blown up by the Wind of empty Vanity and Pride. Sometimes a

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Nation may be affected with the Rickets, and Liver growen, by the unequal distribution of the Nourishment, whereby some parts grow bigg, distorted and useless, and the rest are starved and weakened, which marrs the due Functions of the whole, and all these are cured by discussers and Aperients, such as open and clear the Passages, and promove the due circulation of the Blood & Humours, through the whole; sometimes preternatural tumours and bunches affect the Glands, about the Head and Neck from the stagnation of the Humours, and the want of thier due motion: whereby they are not only preter-naturaly encreased, and a dead burden to the Body, but turning acrimonious and corrosive, they become running Sores, Ulcers and Issues and drain the Substance of the whole, and so look like that *Disease* commonly called the King's-evil, which in some Countries, is thought cureable by the Royal touch: and as the cure of such a patient this way, would be a very generous and charitable office; so it would be as true a Proof of the veritable

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parent of the Country, to any who were in doubt thereof, as ever any used that way before; or as *Solomon*'s ingenious proof of the real Mother of the *Living Child.*

51. And sometimes a *Nation*, may labour under, and have a *Complication* of all these *Diseases*, and then, as they require speedy cure, so they require great Caution, Art, and Skill, lest in cureing one Disease, another may be exasperated, and that Nation be put in a worse condition than ever: as has been seen under the Management of some of the pernicious Crew of *Trade Mountibanks*, these *State Leeches* patched up of *Ignorance*, *Impudence* and *Fraud*, which are no where so dangerous, as in this case: and of whom some will do well, never to forget the *dear bought experience* they have already had this way.

52. But, after all this plausible *Alegorising* betwixt the *Physician* of the *Body Natural*, and of the *Body Politick*, some may be ready to ridicule and vacate all, by saying that the *Physicians* of

the *Body Natural*, are alſo a conſiderable *Diſeaſe* in a *Nation*: For the *Romans*, that wiſe people, ſeveral times baniſhed them, as enemies to the *Common* wealth; and it may be further thought an evidence of the vanity and and uſeleſneſs of their *Art*, when they are ſeen to fall grivouſly at ods among themſelves, into *Contentions* and *Quarrellings*: eſpecialy in a place where Debates were not uſual till of late; but where *Phyſitians* uſed to agree like *Lambs*, tho' ſome think it was rather like *Foxes*, agreing to devour the innocent Lambs: For when the Debates among *Phyſicians* come from the ſounder parts, labouring to throw up the *Dregs* and *Droſs*; or when there is a ſeparation to be made of the unclean from the clean, a *ferment* muſt ariſe, and a ſtruggle and a *commotion* muſt fall out. But more eſpecially if a *Club* of *Ignorant*, *Raſh* and *ſubtile* Phyſicians, ſhall join together, and cry up one another, (for one *Phyſician's* teſtimony of another

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goes very farr) and, Tho' they were but a *Caball* of 5 or 6, and for *orders* ſake, and better *government* alſo, under a *head*, no matter tho' it be a *block-head*, with the aſſiſtance likewiſe of a conſiderable *bottle-alliance*, which can indeed do great things *here*, when carefully *Cemented*, *connected* and *Spirited* with continual freſh *dropings*: *this Club*, but eſpecialy the *head*, may not only far outweigh a much greater number, of both *abler* & *honeſter* men, who are ſeparat, and without any *Concert*, or joint Endeavour to *Cultivat* the like *methods* and *Meaſures* for obtaining *Reputation* or *applauſe*: but alſo, he or they, may weather out all the Endeavours of the honeſt party labouring to detect and to prevent the miſchiefs, ſuch a conſpiracy is ready to bring upon men: and as this Practice and trade is not only unworthy of the *profeſſors* of *Phyſick*, and very prejudicial and diſcuraging to the men of real merit; ſo above all it is very dangerous and hurtful to the *Publick* concern of the place where it

is; for beside the *havock* it may make on the Populace, it is apt to cut off, the best, & most *Powerful Instruments* of the *Publick good*, if they come into their hands, as who can promise that they may not? Whosoever then in this case, labours to detect, and prevent the danger of such a *Conspiracy*, acts a considerable part of the true *Publick Spirit*, and does as good an office, as the setting up of *Beacons* upon *blind Rocks*, and of *Bouys* upon *Sand-Banks* to save *Ships* from being *Split*.

53. And as there is a certain right way, to be attained in the Practice of *Physick*, so it lyes so deep and far removed from vulgar Eys, that few know when the *Physician* hits it, and few can give a true *Judgement* when the Disease is cured, or the Patient dyed, whether it was by *Nature*, or by the *Physicians* help: whether the dangerous *Symptoms* the patient was under, were the effect of the *Physiciens actings* or *neglects*, or the effects of *Nature* and of the *Disease*; But just as their wild *imagination* leades, which

is alwayes byassed to follow the credit and reputation the *Physician* has whatsoever way gotten; and the way how he has gotten it, they are never at the pains to examine. The most part must acknowledg, that *Capacity* and *qualification* in *Medicine*, is a thing, that they must take upon trust, and at the *Second* or *Third* or may be at the *Twentieth* hand, the *relations*, *impressions*, *characters*, that come to them, may be likeways so variously perverted and distorted, by the manifold different *Interests*, *Humours* and *Gusts*, throw which they all do pass, that they will bear little true *resemblance* or *representation* of the object.

54. They then who in this case mistake the Endeavours of the *Honest* and *sound part*, labouring to throw off the *deadly infection* and *pestilent Burden*, and that for the safety of the *People* and for the *Common good*, and take all to be from meer *Humour*, *animosity* or *envy*, must be much in the Mist, about this matter, considering that the right distinguishing of *Physicians*, is of most *Publick*

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concern and *utility*; for how many *excellent* men and great *Patriots* of their *Countrie*, besides multitudes of comon people of all ranks, in such a case, may fall as *victims* to a *confederat* Club of *Impudent pretenders*, and what a *dismal Sacrifice*, may they, being left to their triumphant *Career*, by their *Neglects* and *Over-actings*, make in a *Nation*.

55. Before I leave this subject, the curious Reader will surely be desirous to be informed, of the true ways and means, how he may judge of an *able* and *qualified Physician*; one who is realy a *Publick Good*, and not a *Clandestine Plague* and *Moth* in a *Society*: tho' it be as hard to give *Characteristick* marks of this person, to him, who is not also very well skilled in Physick himself, as it is to make a man judge of a good *Painter* or *Musician*, that has no *skill* of either art himself, Yea and even as to make blind men to judge of *Colours*, yet there may be first some negative marks given, or at least some *Considerations* proposed, that may

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hrangle, or *unhinge* the *reputation* some have, already, upon wrong suppositions gotten, with some more positive ones, that may bring a judicious man, as near to judge of this matter, as is possible, without being himself well skilld in *Medicine*. And for the first point, all serious men would beware, how they trust to the Vogue and reputation of any of these following sorts of *Physicians*.

56. The first sort are these, who by driving the *Trade* of *Comeradship*, good *followship*, and *bon Companionrie*, have gotten many *familiars* and *acquaintance*, who will cry them up for great *Physicians*: for all know how generaly acceptable such *Conversation* is, and what a *noise* so many *mouths* well tun'd up this way, make.

57. The second sort are, these who are high *flowen* or *bigotted* to a *party*, either in *Religion* or *State*, and these who make more than an ordinary *semblance* and shew of *probity*, whither *Real*, or *affected* only, I will not determin

termine, for the opinion of a *good man*, a *man* of *probity* or *integrity*, tho' they also know him to be a very *weake man*, goes a *great way* with the *Vulgar* to make a *good Physician*; especially the *Vulgar* of the *respective parties* they are of.

58. The Third sort are, these interested in some great *Families*, as having been *Domesticks* &c. Or otherways concerned therein, and who thereby come to *Reputation*: *Great persons* being called *Gods*, no wonder they aim at *Creation*, and the making *men* out of *nothing*; and in no *faculty*, such an *exploit* as this, seems so easie, as in *Physick*.

59. There is also a Fourth *sort*, that by a *gentile Meen*, screw themselves into peoples likeing and *Familiarity*; or by a facetious *Conversation*, by makeing *Sports*, and by telling *little quircks*, *knacks* and *minical stories*; to divert, whereby they gain the opinion of being thought *Witty* and *fine* men, while there is nothing *Solid* or *profitable* to be found in their *Conver-*

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ſation; But ſince the moſt part are more delighted with ſhows, or with *vain* and *frothy diſcourſe*, than with what is *ſerious*, *Solid*, and *uſeful*, and that *fame* bouyes up lighter things, letting the *weighter* fall to the *bottom*, no wonder ſuch be eaſily carried on the *wings* of the Wind.

55. Whereas there is no thinking perſon, that makes a due reflection upon the *intricacy*, *difficulty* and *danger* attending *Medical practice*, that will think any, or all, of thoſe *qualifications* can contribute, or be a mark of a *Phiſicians skill*, tho' thereby he come to reputation and credit: *Medical skill* &c. being a *faculty* or *power* acquired by conſtant and ſerious *Obſervation*, whereby the *Phyſician* is able rightly to lodge the given *Phenomena*, or *viſible effects natural* in the *Body*, by the application of Actives to Paſſives, and that upon their proper, tho' hidden *Cauſes*. *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas*: The *link* betwixt *cauſe* and *effect* in *Nature*, lyes often *too deep*, for *vulgar* Eyes to diſcover it, and conſequently there is no

judicious person, but must confess that there is none capable of any competent degree of skill or true *experience* in this *Art*, who is not indued with the most extraordinary *Enduements* of *Mind*, a most *penetrating witt*, an enlarged and most *comprehensive genius*, capable to *reach*, *view*, and ponder the state and Concourse, with the Circumstances of things, and their *productive Capacities*, relating to skill in *practice*, a ready *Wit* to *Convasse* and *examine*; and a *solid* and *sure wit*, to make *happy hits*: and he that is *pregnant* in *Medicin*, where ever he shall turn his *Eyes*, whatever *object* he *surveys*, or subject he shall bend his mind upon; by his *pregnancy* of *Spirit*, he will be capable of makeing therein the like clear *discoveries*, and *just hits*. *Solid* and *sound reasoning*, makes allways *Solid* and *sound actings*; those that *Clinch* and *quible*, that *wrangle* and *Cavill* in their *Reasonings*, as all weak headed people do, are apt to do so in *action* and *practice*, about whatever subject they meddle. A great *General*, *Politician* or *Lawyer* would, upon appli-

application that way, make a *good Physician*; and *vice versa*, a *qualified Physician*, had he followed any of these *Studies*, would have been exquisit therein; and as we may give the *Prehemiience* for *Difficulty* and *Intricacy*, to *Physick*, beyond all other Studies; so it is clear that Physick may be allowed to need the greatest *Pregnancy* of *Wit* and Judgement of any other, and wherever men see not these in a *Physician*, it is in vain for him to expect there, real accomplishment, or *true skill*. And the more *Credit* and *Reputation* any *Physician* has, without this he is still the more dangerous in the *Commonweall*, and the greater enemy to the *Publick*, in regard of the *Ruin*, *Destruction* and *Havock*, that he is apt to make, among the *People* of all *Ranks* and *Degrees*.

56. And it has been certainly this consideration that moved the *Romans* to banish *Physitians*, Because that *wise* and *sharp* sighted *people*, saw the *Professors* of that *Art* were men of mean *Capacities*, of no *qualifications* suitable for

the greatness of their *Work*, and so their *Performances* would come far short of their *pretentions*; and in stead of help & safety to the *common weall*, they would bring only *Danger* and *Damage*.

57. The true *Publick Spirit*, as he is able to penetrat far into every subject he considers & vieus, so he has also an universal & most comprehensive *function*, & is not limited in his *Operations*, to any particular set of *Imployements*, but is capable to Act almost in every *capacity*; for he knows likeways to influence mens *morals* and to make them *better* men, as well as to make them *Richer* or healthier: for whosoever shall consider what a fruitful mother of all other *vices*, *Idleness* is, and to how many tentations, and poor shifts, *Penury*, the Child of *Idleness*, exposes men: Yea and even *Gentlemen*: especially when and where forraigne *Fashions* and *Luxury* have creept into a *Nation* & that their *humours* are to be *Neighbour*-like: will not doubt but the *methods* to encourage & to introduce *iudustry*, will not only immediatly feed the *Hungry* and *Cloath* the *Naked*,

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and intitle the Authors to the Blessing annexed to the action, but also will banish the whole train of *vices* depending upon *Idleness* and *penury*: and particularly, it will furnish abundance of comfortable and creditable means of livelyhood to many, who are either forced to unlawful shifts, to maintain themselves, or to leave their own Nation, to the great weakning thereof, and to the advantage of our *jealous* & *emulous* neighbours, who have many ways to imploy them, and do thereby strengthen themselves, tho' they either are, or may becom the others enemies: & indeed tho' there were no other effects of improvements in a Nation but the Charitable and Christian effects, they would produce on the *Poor*, and that they would make men looke like *better Christians*, this should prompt all good men to the Vigorous *Prosecution* of them, especially there where the poor need to be either put into *ways* and *methods* to subsist by their own labour, or by the enabling of others to Charity as they require to be supplied, where their own Labour were deficient

deficient; and it seems very presumable, that where multituds of the poor appear in a *deplorable*, *Scandalous* and *unpitied* condition both as to their *Bodies* and *Souls* especialy through want of general methods fitted for their *supply* and orderly living, that there the pretences to that *Religion*, which doth indispensably require Charity, and seeking the good of our Neighbour, are *frivolous*, *vain* and *arogant*, much more if there be done any thing that may directly or indirectly increase the *numbers* and *miseries* of the *poor*, or *interrupt* or *pervert* the means of their Subsistence, or of their *training* up to labour, for the maintainance of themselves: as seems to be too freely done in some times, and places: In relation to which, it may be justly enquired, whither or not it be *Lawfull* or *Profitable* for a *Nation*, to put things that are dedicated to *pious uses*, into *privat pockets*, and that without any regard to their generall and *religious destination*, and especialy to bestow them upon such as can pretend no *proportional*, or *equivalent publick merit*, but all the qualifi-

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cation they are capable of, in relation to the *publick*, is a *dexterity* and *slight* of *scraping* and *scrambling*, even tho' at the rate of *Sacriledge* it self: and regard not how it comes, if it comes; for it seems very probable that, nothing that has been once dedicated to a *pious use*, can thereafter by any power upon Earth, go to a privat one, be *appropriated*, or come into *commerce*, even tho' the particular use to which it was *dedicated*, prove *Superstitious*; for in that Case, the *general end*, *Religious* or *Pious*, still holding, tho' the *particular* should fail, the next *Pious* use requiring it, ought certainly to be thereby served; and it cannot in *Justice* be otherways disposed, as long as there is an equivalent *Pious* or *Publick Interest* craving *support* in a *Nation*: nor without *Sacriledge*, can it be *given* or *received* otherways: And as this method has been observed in *Holland*, where, after the *Reformation*, out of their Pious *Donations*, there has been raised all their *working Schools*, their *Hospitals* for the *Orphans*, *Sick*, *Poor*, *aged*, &c. So the good effects thereof has been seen,

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both by way of natural consequence, and by *Heavens* smiling on their other *purposes* and *designs*.

58 But the reason why these *pious fonds*, are in some places made too bold with, and other ways disposed of, than is suitable to their Nature and first Destination, is upon a pretention of the *publick merit* & *civil service* of some, who must thereby be recompenced, by which they are often affected and exhausted, to the prejudice of more *proper interests* craveing and requireing them; Whereas in such places, the other *publick fonds*, and such as are *proper* and *peculiar*, for the due incouragement and reward of *publick* and *Civil vertue*, are often bestowed otherways and unworthily, upon *by-Respects* and on *privat Considerations*: And this frequently makes an encroachment upon these *pious fonds*, to the exclusion of their proper uses; notwithstanding that not only the *civil fonds* of a *Nation*, but also all places of *emolument* and profit, especialy such as contain no *mystery* in their *Discharge*, seem in *Justice* only disposable, as *rewards*, *recom-*

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pence and *encouragement* of *publick civil merit* and *vertue*, and never otherways; tho' in some times and circumstances of *Government*, it may be by hap hazard if they go the *Right Way*. But to secure the due exercise of this point of *National distributive Justice*, which is of so much *import* to the *prosperity*, and *flourishing* of, especialy, a *Languishing* & *decayed* People; this or the like *expedient* might be proposed *viz*. That no *grant* out of any *Subject*, no *gift* of *Pension* nor *place* of *emolument*, should take effect, unless it did contain and mention the particular and equivalent *cause onerous*, whereupon it proceeded; And that the *verity*, *weight*, and *proportion* thereof be enquired into, and found by an *inquest*, or *jury* of *Sworn men*, appointed for that purpose; who should also give their *Votes* by *Billets*: and as such a method as this could prejudge none but *empty pretenders*, or *Sacrillgeous designers*, so it would certainly prevent the misapplication of that which should go to more *just*, or *Charitable*, *publick* & *National uses* and

from being bestowed on the *drones* of the *common weal*; these who are neither objects of *Charity*, nor of *Remuneration*: if not sometimes, on the *wasps* and *Foxes* of the *Publick*.

59. And if such *methods* and *measures* were followed, and this *distributive* and *National Justice* exactly observed, especialy in a *Land*, where it is most needed, as it would very much encourage and prompt many, to the serious Study, & nervous *exercise* of *true Publick* and *National vertue*; *reward* and *recompense* being the *sinews* here, as well as in War; and thereby bring about the *prosperity* aand *advancement* of a *Languishing People*, and that both by way of *natural influence*, and *causality*, and also by the *Divine Benediction*: so the *preposterous* or *Sacrilegious inverting*, and *preverting publick things*, *Sacred* and *humane*, doth both in an *ordinary* and *extraordinary* way, wholy *enervat* and *vacate* all such *vertuous endeavours*, and bring and keep a *Nation* under *Decay*, *Languishing* and *Misery*.

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60. The considerable alteration of the circumstances of a *People*, may make it more necessary than ever before, to seek out all *ways* and *means* to *cultivat Improvements:* as when *Forraign Fashions* are stolen in upon them, and have banished their antient Simplicity of living, & they are caryed away with the Humour of *Prodigality*, *Luxury* and *Vanitie*, without a sufficient income to support them, and that the affecting of being neighbour-like, & the supporting their Rank, will sway many to grievous *Vices*, such as *Cozening* and *Lying*, *oppression* and *extortion*, *bribery* and *Sacriledge*; Yea and sometimes to *Robery* and *Theft*; where as, if the means of getting & supporting *Forraign Fashions*, were as considerably encreased, as the ways of spending thereby are; and as by the due following *Improvements*, they might be, in a Land, then would the occasions, to such gross and *Scandalous Vices* be lopt off.

61. Whosoever shall narrowly observe things, cannot but see, to how many *Vices* and *temptations*, *Idleness*,

and want of *Imployment* exposes men, for thereby the *minds* of men, which still must be *Raking* and *Rambling* for want of *good subject*, do necessarly entrench upon that which is *ill:* and to what else but to *Idleness*, may be attributed, all these *Prodigious* and *Miserable wasters* of *mens persons*, *Estates* and *time*, such as *Drinking*, *Gaming*, and *Whoredom*, which frequently raise quarrels, oftimes usher in *Duells* and *Murders*? what it is but *Idleness* and want of better *subject* of *Imployement*, that in *conversation* and *Discourse*, lays men open to *Slandering*, *Detracting* and *backbiting*, to *idle* and *Scurrilous*, *Profane* and *Lascivious Discourse*, into which much often slip *unawares* and for want of other *matter*, and subject of Discourse. And how many men are prompted to *Prodigal wast* of their *Time*, *Money* and *Spirits*, by *Litigious* and *Calumnious Law-Suits*, which are often engendered betwixt *humour* and *Idleness*, or want of other *business*, especialy in one of the *parties*, tho' the time, Money and Spirits of both, might

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be far *better saved*, or imployed, in following our *general* and *National Improvements* in a *Land*.

62. Besides, that *Idleness* disposes men to be at variance even with themselves; how *restless* and how *roving*, how *perplext* and *unstable* like *Water*, doth *Idleness* make men, that they are a very burden to themselves, and oftentimes fall into *Melancholy* and *Hypochondriack fancies*, in so much that neither the *multitude*, nor *magnitude* of the Evils of *Idleness* alone, can be reckoned, which will all be removed by putting men upon business.

63. Idleness is also very prejudicial to *Health*, besides the *Intemperance* and *Lasciviousness* it exposes men unto; Experience shewing any man, that he has a better *appetite*, *digestion* and all his facultys more *vigete*, *vigorous* and *prompt*, whilst in the exercise of *business* and *employs*, than in the *Stupidity* of *Laziness* and *Sloth*.

64. Unto *Idleness*, and want of better *business*, may be ascribed all these

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Jarrings, *Animosities* & *Divisions* about *Religious* matters, *Church Government* and other *Circumstantials* of *Religion*: Whereas among people, whose heads are taken up with *Honest Imployments*, tho' they be of different perswasions in these matters, ther's all *peace*, *amity* and *concord*, and they are not a *Scandal* among themselves and to others, by their *contentions*, and lyable to become a *derision* and a *Prey* to their enemies. *Idleness* and want of *Employments* in a *Nation* makes *straitness* of living, and *difficulty* of getting, which makes men to lye at *catch*, to turn *sharpers* and *shirkers*, and to become *homo homini lupus & vulpes* : and this breaking the *unity* of a *People*, & weakning them exceedingly, lays them open to be insulted by their Neighbours, and by destroying *Charity*, becomes most provokeing to the *Almighty*.

65. *Idleness* likeways makes such poverty in a *Nation*, that it exposes them to contempt, and to be *incroached*, *invaded* and *trod* upon, by their rich Neighbours, and makes them lo-[illegible] upon their *Liberty* and *freedom* as

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precarious, and at their *concession*, untill they have the leisure, or find it convenient, to bereave them of it, and if they come to have any *Treatys* with their *Neighbours*, they look so much down upon them, and think them so *inconsiderable*, that they will be hardly brought to give them reasonable *terms* and *conditions*, or if their *errand* come their way, they will scarcely do them *common Justice*, far less grant them *favours*, *Concessions* or *kindness*.

66. And finaly, as *Idleness* begets *Poverty*, so *Poverty begets* and *encreases Idleness*, which doth again *propagat* and augment *Poverty*, and so *mutualy* and *reciprocaly encreasing* each others, they play to one anothers hand, which gives a dismal prospect in a *Nation* of the continued multiplication of these Evils both of the *depopulation* and *weakning* of a Land, and of the *Oppression* and *burdening* thereof, by the *maintenance* and subsistence of the *Poor* and the *idle*: Besides *Idleness* begets *sloath*, and an *ineptitude*, and *indisposition* to all *action* and *Business*, an *habitual Lazi-*

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nesſ, and a total averſion to Induſtry; which includes not only a bare *Privation*; but brings on the contrary, poſitive *Habitude*, extinguiſhing the *Capacity* and *Ability* to Buſineſs and Action, and makes the *taking them up*, much more difficult and uneaſy.

67. And tho' no *wiſe* man will look to have his Portion in *this* Life, yet to have an *eaſy* and comfortable *Paſſage*, and undiſturbed *Exit*, is very deſirable; for the leading of a *quiet* and *peaceable* Life, as it was thought by the Apoſtle, to contribute to *Godlyneſs* and *Honeſty*, ſo it was made the end of Praying for *Rulers*; and what a burden are theſe tortouring & carking *Cares*, which in ſome places men have, under the Difficulties to get their *Dayly Bread*? the having whereof is ſo *neceſſary*, that as it was thought fit to be made one of the Petitions of the *Compendium* of *Prayer* taught by Our SAVIOUR; So it is then no wonder that the *fear* of the *want* of it, do ſo perplex and diſcompoſe the Mind, eſpecially of *weak* perſons, as to make them unfit for *Pious*

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and *serious* Exercises, and how much of such Fears and of the effects of them, there may be in some Times and Places felt; And how necessary it is to endeavour the Removal of them, by the closs following of the methods capable to relieve and supply all, is left to the Consideration of these who have either a *true feeling*, or due *fellow-feeling*.

68. And surely, the sweet *Influence* and benign *Aspect*, the *Prosperity* of a *Nation*, has upon the Civil Government; cannot but charm the *Soveraignity* thereof, to promove all things capable to *advance* it; the mutual and reciprocal *Dutys* being thereby discharged with more *Alacrity* and *Pleasure*: the *Opulency* of the People, effectually supporting the *Grandeur* and *Splendor* of the Court, and giving *Strength* and *Force* to the *Government*, for the Protection of the People; whereby likeways is easily preserved the due *Temper* and *Ballance* of the Government, and consequently the *Stability* thereof; whereas a poor and languishing People not being able to defray the Charge of a

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due Care and Protection, must either not *expect* it, or be harrassed to support it. It being still here as in *Agriculture*, where any considerable Increase or *Cropt* cannot be expected, without due Culture and Labour bestowed; nor any Culture or Labour imployed, where there is not suteable *Increase* hoped for.

69. And as in *Agriculture*, the refreshing and fructifying *Influence* of the *Sun*, serves not a little for Natural *Growth* and *Vegitation*; so the *Direct Rays* of a Nation's *Titan*, does for their *Political* Vegetation: But in case of a Nation's great distance from their *Titan*, which to their considerable Loss, makes the Rays transmitted to them, very *Oblique*, there is in that case need of Bodies *interposed*, for making due *Refraction* of the *Beams*, and sending the Rays to them more *Direct* and *Cherishing*; and the Bodies interposed for that Business, must be both *pellucid* or *candid* Bodies, and also Convex'd ones: for if they be Concave or *Opaque* Bodies, there will be little *Effects* in the Rays

Rays transmitted; as all *Mathematical* Politicians know, the Nature of such Bodies, is either to *terminat* the *Rays* within themselves, or to *dispose* and *weaken* them so, that they will be but little *cherishing* in their *Effects*; and still there is no fault in the *Rays* themselves.

70. And as in *Agriculture*, men must not rely altogether, upon the *Influences* and *Rays* of the *Sun*, especially where its *Distance* from the *Climat* is great; but there is besides needfull, a great deal of Work and Preparation to be done, as *Fallowing* and Manuring of the Ground, and *grubbing* up the noxious Weeds, Roots and Shrubs; so in the *Political Culture*, there is required also, the Opening of Mens Minds by due Consideration and Application, and the Extirpation of the noxious *Weeds* of *Mistakes* and *Prejudices*; and of the pestilent *Shrubs* of *Testiness*, *Caprice* and *Selfish Designs*, which either draw away the *Sap* of the Ground, or smother and bear down the good *Seed* that is sown.

71. From all which it necessarly seems to follow, That as there is no prosperity for a *People* without great *care*, *labour* and *industry*; and that the *Languishing*, *decay* and *misery* in a *Nation* always depends upon supine *neglect*, &c, So if there be superadded an industrious Course, and Train of *practices*, and designs bearing a perverse and *Malevolent* aspect on the publick state of a *Land*, and to which men are prompted by an inordinate and pernicious Spirit of *Self*; this must certainly both precipitat & ascertain the danger, according to the suffrage also of the Apostle to *Timothy*, I. iii. 1. Saying, *This also know, that in the last Days perilous Times shall come: For men shall be lovers of their own selves.* &c. From which may necessarly be inferred, that whensoever men become *lovers of their own selves* that these are perilous Times, and wherever they perceive perilous Times, they may conclud that they must come from that cause of mens being *lovers of their own selves*: so any People by viewing their present

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Temper and diſpoſition, may make a juſt Judgement & prognoſtick of the future, as they may regularly & duly Lodge the *Evils* they are under in the true procureing cauſes; For when ever men apprehend danger, with the ſame view they may deſcry the cauſe, as whenever they diſcover the cauſe, they may neceſſarly conclude the effect muſt be cloſs following it at the heels, and be aſcertained of it the more, that it comes both by way of *natural* conſequence & by divine Prediction and Determination. And when danger is preſent, ruine and miſery is not far off: a continued and growing *ſpirit* of *ſelf* at any time, breaking the Unity of a People, weakens them ſo exceedingly that they may become a *Prey* either to their *Own*, or to *Strangers*: But much more certain and ſure is their *Miſery* and *Ruine*, if this fall out in a time that is accompanied with, or ſignal for, the maineſt and moſt conſiderable Circumſtances of *Peril* and and *Danger*, that has ever been ſeen in any other *Time* and *Place*, or as can be obſerved by *Hiſtory*; it muſt certainly then

then be a ſtrange and fatal *Stupidity*, and nothing leſs than *Judicial Blindneſs*: and the worſt Circumſtance in their Condition, and that which bodes inevitable *Ruin* and *Miſery*, if in ſuch a caſe they ſit ſtill, and *be-ſtir* not themſelves; and if all *Ranks*, *Qualities* and *Conditions* do not *rouze* themſelves to act directly or indirectly, either immediatly, or by exciting and prompting others to their Duty, and to that which is incumbent; in ſo much that in this caſe every man that is either *Lax* or *Supine* in his duty, or *extravagant*, and *excentrical*, in *his motions*, or has deſigns interfering with the *Publick good*, ſhould be pointed at like a monſter, a Ravenous *Woolf* or *Tiger*, as a *devourer* or a *deſtroyer* of the *Society*.

72. And a late Author thinks its oftentimes impoſſible to bring about *Reformation* of ſome *Abuſes*, without the concurrence of the *People*, as in the *eſſay* of *making people gainers by the balance of Trade*, P. 194. which ſays "It is a matter "of great wonder, that from the time of "*Auguſtus*, downwards, the *Romans*, who

"who were ſeldom without Brave and "vertuous men, ſhould never make one "attempt to reſtore the Commonwealth, "and to ſhake of that power which "ſome of the Emperors exerciſed with "ſuch exorbitance; But in all likly-"hood it proceeded from this, that the "Souldiers and Common people, with-"out whom no great Revolution can "be made, believed themſelves ſtill "free, becauſe, in ſhow, the Common-"wealth had the ſame Form as in the "Elder times. There was a *Senat*, *Con-"ſuls*, *Tribunes*, and an appearance of "all the antient Magiſtracies, tho' no-"thing remained of the ancient liberty; "but this the common people did not "feel: for the cruelty and fraud of *Tibe-"rius*, the madneſs of *Caligula*, the "ſtupidity of *Claudius*, the Riots and "Luſt of *Nero*, the Gluttony and ſor-"did mind of *Vitellius*, the Vanities of "*Otho*, and the Enormous Vices of "*Domitian*, did little hurt to the in-"feriour rank of men, who all the "while had *Panem* & *Circenſes*, their "Bread & Divertiſements, which was all

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"they desired; but the mischiefs these "monstrous Princes brought upon the "World, fell chiefly upon Nobler heads; "who yet could not rescue their "Country, so much were the Com-"mon people lulled asleep, with the "Opinion they intertained, that the "Laws still governed, because they saw "every year Consuls and Senate, but this "Senate being corrupted, made the Ty-"ranny boundless and safe: For the peo-"ple could never be induced to oppose "that Power which still bore some re-"semblance to their ancient form of "Government; And this did certainly proceed from the decay of the ancient *Roman Publick Spirit* among the People.

FINIS.
